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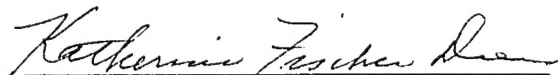
ERCHEMPERT'S HISTORY OF THE LOMBARDS OF BENEVENTO:  
A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF ITS PLACE  
IN THE CHRONICLE TRADITION

by

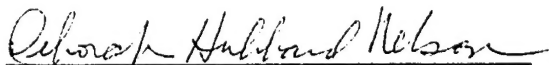
JOAN ROWE FERRY

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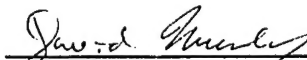
APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE



Katherine Fischer Drew, Chair  
Professor of History



Deborah Hubbard Nelson  
Professor of French



David Nirenberg  
Assistant Professor of History

Houston, Texas

May, 1995

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## ABSTRACT

Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento:

A Translation and Study of Its Place  
in the Chronicle Tradition

by

Joan Rowe Ferry

Erchempert, a ninth-century Lombard monk attached to the monastery of Monte Cassino in Southern Italy, wrote the History of the Lombards of Benevento around 889, a history intended to contrast with Paul the Deacon's earlier History of the Lombards by including the Carolingian conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774 and by showing Lombard failings rather than achievements through narrating the decline of Lombard rulership in the South, which had flourished for three centuries in the Lombard duchy (later principality) of Benevento. Three known aspects of Erchempert himself--as Lombard, monk, and chronicler--connect him to his society and provide a basis for examining his History. As a Lombard, his primary concern is loss of unified rule at Benevento following civil war and splitting of the principality into three more or less autonomous rulerships at Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, a division which weakens the Lombards' ability to resist the competing claims of

Carolingian and Byzantine rulers and the attacks of Islamic invaders. As a monk, Erchempert is present during events which occur following Monte Cassino's destruction by Muslims in 883, when the monks are exiled to Teano and Capua and the abbey suffers loss of its property. As a chronicler and known grammaticus, Erchempert is an evident participant in the widespread system of monastic education; he later applies elements of this education to the writing of his History, which falls within the Christian chronicle tradition. A translation of Erchempert's History from Latin into English is included in this study.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank first the members of my committee for their time and helpful criticism during preparation of this dissertation. I especially thank Prof. Katherine Fischer Drew, whose chance selection of a portion of Erchempert's History for an examination first introduced me to it, and whose own work in the areas of Lombard law and society have been most helpful.

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Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento:

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Introduction

Erchempert was a monk of the ninth century, attached to the monastery of Monte Cassino in Southern Italy. He was a Lombard, a member of the Germanic people known as Langobardi or "Long-Beards" who invaded Italy around A.D. 568 and ruled much of the peninsula for two centuries until their kingdom was overthrown by the Franks under Charlemagne in 774. After that time, Lombard power continued to flourish in Southern Italy under the princes of Benevento.

Erchempert's History (written around the year 889) follows that of another Lombard, Paul the Deacon, who a century earlier had also written a History of their people. Paul recounts the Lombards' legendary origins in northern Europe and their success as conquerors of Italy, stopping short of the Frankish conquest. Erchempert takes up the story from there.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pauli Historia Langobardorum, ed. G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, Saec. VI-IX, 12-187; in English, Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards, trans. William Dudley Foulke, 1907 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974); Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum, ed. G. H.

Benevento, an ancient city occupying a strategic crossroads in the Apennine mountains southeast of Rome, became the site of one of the earliest duchies founded by the invading Lombards. The Beneventan dukes soon took advantage of the distance from Pavia, capital of the Lombard kingdom, to enlarge their authority in Southern Italy and establish considerable independence from the king. This tendency toward autonomy continued after Charlemagne proclaimed himself King of the Lombards in 774, for Arichis II, duke of Benevento, promptly assumed the title of "prince," and he and his successors continued to control much of Southern Italy while largely evading their Carolingian overlords.

Modern scholars have attached the name "Langobardia Minor" to Benevento and its territories in recognition of "the aspirations and the capacity for autonomy" which continued to flourish among these southern Lombards.<sup>2</sup> Erchempert catches the spirit of this Lombard tradition in his History when he composes a defiant little speech for the young Beneventan prince Grimoald, who refuses to acknowledge Charlemagne's son Pipin as his rightful overlord: "Free and noble was I born of both parents; free shall I always be, I

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Pertz and G. Waitz, MGH, Scrip. rer. Lang., 231-64.

<sup>2</sup> Elio Galasso, Langobardia minor (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1991), 10. ("Langobardia Minore" elsewhere, as in Giuseppe Pochettino, I langobardi nell'Italia meridionale (570-1080); (Naples: Guida, 1930), 502.

believe, with God's protection."<sup>3</sup>

The problem for ninth-century Lombard rulers of southern Italy was that being "free" had come to mean not only resistance to control by non-Lombards, but also widespread refusal among Lombard nobles to submit to the authority of their own prince. The Lombards were certainly not the only ones suffering from disunity at this time; the Frankish people to the north were also experiencing great civil distress as the empire created by Charlemagne was destroyed by his heirs.<sup>4</sup> Erchempert's History reflects widespread disintegration of temporal power in the West--emperor, king, royal administrator--and in addition offers evidence of how such disintegration affected human beings in very specific situations involving assassination, enslavement, attack and robbery by Greeks and Muslims, and destruction of farms and crops.

In Erchempert's view, the principality of Benevento is doomed from the year 834, when Prince Sicard sends his brother Siconolf into exile with the intent of having him assassinated, and then persecutes worthy relatives to

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<sup>3</sup> Erchempert, Hist., Ch. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The potential for Frankish political disunity becomes apparent in the Annales regni Francorum (Royal Frankish Annals) which run from 741-829, with serious civil disturbance seen in Nithardi historiarum libri IV (Nithard's Histories) for the period from 814-840; both are in English, in Bernhard Walter Scholz, Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1972).



further protect his own power: "(A)t that time a great perjury was accomplished at Benevento, from which it may be conjectured that for the first time the anger of God was called forth for the destruction of their land."<sup>5</sup> During Erchempert's lifetime, the principality's unity is destroyed, with Capua and Salerno breaking away to become more or less independent territories, a movement toward autonomy not welcomed or understood by observers such as Erchempert, who cherish the ideal of Lombard unity.

Erchempert's History is thus a bitter account of the failure of the Lombards of Benevento to preserve a unified rule and protect the peace of their subjects in Southern Italy. As Erchempert points out, Paul the Deacon had chosen to tell only the glorious part of their people's past; Erchempert is left with the duty of telling the gloomy tale "not of their rule but of their overthrow, not of their happiness but of their misery, not of their triumph but of their ruin . . ."<sup>6</sup> Erchempert's History, written during a period of transition, differs considerably in tone and purpose from Paul's as a result.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Erchempert, Hist., ch. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Erchempert, Hist., ch. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Bullough discusses Paul's 'ethnic history' as that of a gens "from its remote origins to the point at which it was beginning to lose its separate identity;" Erchempert's History, written after another century of Lombard coexistence and fusion with Italian peoples, does not have the same sense as Paul's of being a "national history." Bullough's discussion is found in "Ethnic History and the Carolingians:

Erchempert, writing shortly after the deposition and death of the last effective Carolingian emperor, Charles the Fat, was also witness to the resurgence of the Byzantine Empire, which was drawing perilously close to Benevento as it reclaimed territory in southern Italy. Within just a few years of his writing, Benevento would fall to the Byzantines (892-895) and then come under the power of the ruling house of Spoleto (895-897). In 900 Benevento passed under the authority of the Lombard dynasty at Capua, which dominated the region until finally conquered by the Normans in the mid-eleventh century. Lombard rule can thus be said to have endured in Italy in some form for nearly five hundred years, but for Erchempert the prospects for his people's success surely appeared dismal.

In addition to recording the troubles of Benevento's rulers, Erchempert's History provides evidence of the separation of Latin West from Greek East which had developed by this period. The Roman emperor Diocletian (284-305) had in a sense begun the process of estrangement six hundred years earlier by establishing the institution of two emperors, with separate Eastern and Western imperial capitals. The following centuries saw an uneven progress toward final separation, and Erchempert can be seen as heir

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An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum," in The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900, ed. Christopher Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman, Exeter Studies in History no. 12 (University of Exeter, 1986), 85-105, especially 99-100.

to attitudes long developed during intermittent religious and political disputes between the Emperor at Constantinople and the various powers in the West.<sup>8</sup>

Despite this growing separation and the political changes coming after Charlemagne's crowning in 800 as Emperor of the Romans in the West, Byzantine influence remained strong in Southern Italy, and Erchempert's History reflects the continuing appeal of Eastern imperial authority.<sup>9</sup> Erchempert himself, however, expresses profound loathing for "Greeks" and the conviction that "as in appearance they are similar to beasts, so are they equal in spirit."<sup>10</sup> His dislike doubtless grows from the bitter experience of being twice robbed by bands of Neapolitans and

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<sup>8</sup> A complex and much-debated subject, East-West separation is considered in general works such as Cyril Mango, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988); aspects of the continuity of Byzantine culture in Italy are addressed in André Guillou, Culture et Société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe s.) (London: Variorum, 1978); and the enduring attraction of Constantinople for the West is discussed in Jonathan Shepard, "Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 800-1204; Means and Ends," in Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 1 (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Variorum, 1992), 41-71.

<sup>9</sup> The Beneventan prince Guaideris flees to Constantinople and receives gifts and a residence at Oria from the emperor, ch. 48; Salerno's prince Guaimarius is made a patrician at Constantinople and later receives money and support from the Byzantines in his campaign against the Muslims, ch's 54 and 67; duke Guido of Spoleto turns to Constantinople for help, risking death from the Carolingian emperor, Charles the Fat, ch. 79; and Atenolf evidently intends to seek a title at Constantinople, ch. 80.

<sup>10</sup> Erchempert, Hist., ch. 81.

Greeks, but in addition he is embittered at Greek involvement in enslavement of fellow Christians in Southern Italy for sale in Islamic territories overseas. As a result of this activity, "Greeks" are in Erchempert's eyes Christian in name only, "but in practices sadly like Agareni."<sup>11</sup>

Consciousness of his Lombard heritage weighed heavily as Erchempert wrote his History, yet his attachment to the monastery founded by Saint Benedict was equally important. Monte Cassino had long enjoyed prosperity under the patronage of the dukes of Benevento, the Carolingians, and the papacy, but the ninth century Islamic invasions and dissension among Lombard rulers brought loss of the abbey's property and destruction at the hands of Muslims in 883, forcing the monks to flee first to Teano and later to Capua; Monte Cassino was not reoccupied until the middle of the tenth century. Erchempert's History, written during the period of exile from the abbey, is evidence that some degree of learning and culture survived among the monks of Monte Cassino during this period.

Erchempert's narrative is so dominated by the political turbulence around him that it is difficult for his reader to

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<sup>11</sup> Hist., ch's 44, 61, and 81, respectively; "Agarene," commonly used for "Arab," meant "descendant of Hagar" (concubine of Abraham, whose son Ishmael was thought to be the progenitor of the Arab people); discussion of this and other terms for Islamic peoples found in Norman Daniel, The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe (Beirut, London: Librairie du Liban (Longman), 1975), 53.

understand what is happening in Southern Italy. Three discernible aspects of Erchempert himself--as a Lombard, monk, and chronicler--connect him to his society, and this study attempts to use these qualities--as they are expressed in his History--as a framework for understanding Erchempert's world.<sup>12</sup> The first chapter examines his Lombard heritage through reviewing Lombard experience in Italy generally and in the Duchy of Benevento; the second chapter considers Monte Cassino's history and Erchempert's evident experiences as a monk there; the third chapter discusses the chronicle tradition to which Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento belongs, and the final chapter contains the text and translation of his History.

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<sup>12</sup> An idea suggested by Nicola Cilento's search for an "internal logic" and "organic compactness" in southern Italy's complex history, which he finds through study of the Capuan dynasty and its role in the region's political disintegration; Le origini della signoria capuana nella longobardia minore (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1966), 45; Walter Goffart's approach is also helpful in The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-880): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon (Princeton University Press, 1988), where he attempts to see each writer "taken seriously in his own right," not just as "a reporter of the past" but as "a component of the past that he transmits," and where he advises those studying the writings of such narrators to try "at least temporarily, to forget what we want of them (such as 'national' history) and to take sustained interest instead in the local circumstances of their lives;" 15, 17.

## Chapter 1: The Lombards in Italy

Erchempert's History draws much of its force from the author's sense of his Lombard origins and of his people's experience as rulers in Italy. Erchempert writes his history as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's, but with the intent of discussing the Lombards' failures rather than their successes; thus in a sense Erchempert is measuring the current failures at Benevento in his own time against the Lombards' earlier achievements under the kingdom as they were portrayed in Paul's account. These successes included establishment of strong centralized rule, settlement on the land, and management of complex relationships with the Byzantine empire and the papacy. A review of these activities (both in the kingdom generally and in the duchy of Benevento), is helpful in understanding Erchempert's view of Lombard decline in the South.

The Lombard invasion of Italy in 568 came after a century of disruption which followed the deposition in 476 of Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman emperor in the West.<sup>13</sup> Italy was much weakened from earlier "barbarian"

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Hodgkin recounts events during the four earlier invasions of Visigoths, Huns, Vandals, and Ostrogoths in Italy and Her Invaders, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-1899); he dates the Lombard invasion to the year 568, citing Paul the Deacon and the chronicle of Marius of Avenches; vol. V, The Lombard Invasion, 158 and n. 1; Ottorino Bertolini (among others) dates the invasion to 569 rather than 568, based upon the Fasti consulares italicici compiled in Ravenna, which record their entry on May 20 or 21 of that year; Roma e

invasions and from twenty years of warfare undertaken by the emperor Justinian (527-565) in an effort to reclaim Italy for the Roman Empire. Although Italy had been conquered and officially restored to the Roman Empire in 555, imperial troops had been withdrawn when hostilities resumed between the Empire and Persia, and the imperial governor established at Ravenna (later known as the Exarch) lacked resources to prevent yet another invasion of the peninsula.<sup>14</sup>

The tradition of Lombard fierceness and independence found in the writings of Paul the Deacon and Erchempert was known before the Lombards' entry into Italy and colors contemporary accounts of the Lombards' activities. (Procopius, for instance, reports that Lombard mercenaries serving as auxiliaries in Justinian's army during the Gothic

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i longobardi (Istituto di Studi Romani, 1972), 7, 14.

<sup>14</sup> A summary of events under Odoacer and the Ostrogoths is found in A. H. M. Jones, The Decline of the Ancient World (London: Longman, 1966), 92, 96-102; a narrative of the Gothic war is found in Procopius History of the Wars, Secret History, and Buildings, trans., ed., abridged Averil Cameron (New York: Washington Square Press, 1967); Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction with provisions for economic and judicial reform in Italy is found in Corpus iuris civilis, Novellae, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidman, 1895-99); elements in CLX, CLXIV, and App. 7 and 8; vol. 3, 744-45, 763-71; discussed by Hodgkin as a generally enlightened measure, V, 50, and VI, 519-25, and in Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000 (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1981), 27, who notes gradual replacement of civilian administrators by military in Italy; Pochettino saw restoration of large estates (latifundia) under the terms of Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction as "la concreta d'Italia" ("gangrene of Italy"), particularly harmful to small proprietors and to the Goths' allotments in Samnium; I langobardi, 8-9.

wars had to be sent home because of their unruliness.<sup>15</sup>) The Lombards had earlier been called "a race fierce with more than the ordinary fierceness of Germany," and Tacitus had noted that while they were few in number and surrounded by many powerful peoples, "they find safety, not in submission, but in facing the risks of battle."<sup>16</sup> Known in ancient times as Winnili, they took the name Langobardi from their language ("lang" for long, "bart" for beard), according to Paul the Deacon, and this distinctive style was evidently a symbol of their pride as a people. (Erchempert notes Charlemagne's attempt to force the Beneventans to shave off their beards and follow Frankish custom.<sup>17</sup>)

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<sup>15</sup> Procopius, De bello gothico, ed. J. Haury and Gerhard Wirth, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1962-63); abridged version in English in Averil Cameron, trans. and ed., Procopius History of the Wars, Secret History, and Buildings (New York: Washington Square Press, 1967), ch. 33, 274; Hodgkin says the Lombards' dismissal occurred in 552; V, 65.

<sup>16</sup> Valleius Paterculus, praising a victory of Tiberius around 6 A.D. ". . . Langobardi gens etiam Germanâ feritate ferocior," cited by Hodgkin, V, n. 1, 85; Cornelii Taciti De origine et situ Germanorum, ed. J. G. C. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938); in English, in Tacitus: the Agricola and the Germania, trans. H. Mattingly, 1948, rev. S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1970), Germania, ch. 40, 134.

<sup>17</sup> Erchempert, Hist., ch. 4; Paul, Hist. Lang., I, viii-ix, recounting a "silly story" told by men of old about Winnili wives who arranged their hair to look like beards and caught the god Wotan's eye, winning his promise of Winnili victory over the Vandals; Foulke notes modern theories of derivation for the name "Langobardi," n. 1, 18; Pochettino says Langobardi continued to be used in the South, but the Latin form, Longobardi, soon prevailed in the north; I langobardi, 13.



The Lombards came in contact with elements of Roman culture and the system of imperial government early in the sixth century when they settled in Pannonia, south of the Danube. Some Lombards probably converted to Christianity during this period, although many were likely still pagan when they invaded.<sup>18</sup>

Paul the Deacon says that the Lombards invading under king Alboin included "a multitude of people of all kinds," evidently organized as faræ, which were possibly large groups or families related by lineage.<sup>19</sup> Within three years the Lombards had conquered a number of strategic cities in northern Italy, eventually establishing their capital at Pavia (formerly Ticinum). Rome itself was soon threatened to the east and south by the two powerful Lombard

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<sup>18</sup> Hodgkin notes that Procopius represents them as orthodox catholics in a speech by Lombard envoys seeking Justinian's help around 550 against the Gepids: "Especially remember this most important point, that in things pertaining to God we are at one with you in faith. The Gepidae are Arians . . . but we hold your creed. . . ." V, 127; Steven C. Fanning argues from evidence found in writings of Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory I, and Paul the Deacon that they were mainly pagan when they invaded, with some Catholics and Arians among them; "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," Speculum 56 (1981): 241-58.

<sup>19</sup> Hist. Lang., II, viii-ix and n. 1, 64, where Foulke says that Alboin's following likely included inhabitants of Noricum and Pannonia, Slavs, Saxons, and other Germanic people; a debate continues over the meaning of faræ: Wickham sees them as lineage groups, Early Medieval Italy, 116-17; Dick Harrison, possibly as groups traveling together, from German fahren, Swedish fara, "to go" or "travel;" or military units, perhaps based on families; The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy AD 568-774 (Sweden: Lund University Press, 1993), 50-51.

duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, and by the end of the sixth century imperial authority survived only in the northeast, the Duchy of Rome, Sicily, and areas of southern Italy.<sup>20</sup>

The interregnum following Alboin's death in 572 and the short reign of his successor, Cleph, has significance when considering the Lombards' later problems in maintaining unity in the kingdom. The decision not to choose another king gave the dukes (around thirty-five in number, according to Paul the Deacon) the opportunity to pursue their own ambitions for some ten or twelve years. They are reported establishing duchies or expanding existing ones, seizing cities with their territories, and causing much destruction among the Roman populace. Only the threat of attack in 584 by imperial troops in combination with Merovingian forces from Gaul compelled the dukes to unite and restore the monarchy under Authari (584-590).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The Lives in the Liber Pontificalis for Benedict I (575-579) and Pelagius (579-590) record Rome's difficulties during the invasion; The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis), The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715, trans. Raymond Davis, Translated Texts for Historians: Latin Series V (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 60-61; see Appendix for map of Byzantine and Lombard areas of Italy in the early seventh century.

<sup>21</sup> Paul's account of the interregnum is in Hist. Lang. II, xxxii; restoration of monarchy, III, xvi, reporting that each duke gave up half of his possessions for royal use in order to provide the monarchy with adequate resources; Gian Piero Bognetti cites Menander, John of Ephesus, and letters of Gregory I for evidence that the dukes were profiting during the interregnum from dealings with imperial forces, accepting bribes and alternating between Lombard and Byzantine

While it is unclear what was actually happening during the interregnum, it seems likely that the period affected the development of later relationships between the king and his dukes in the North, and contributed to the autonomy of Benevento's dukes in the South (as well as Spoleto's, in central Italy).<sup>22</sup> Both Benevento and Spoleto controlled major Apennine passes, and the Byzantines perhaps had an interest in the establishment of Lombard duchies there as garrisons against Alboin.<sup>23</sup> Duke Zotto, as he established his duchy at Benevento, had the advantages of distance and mountainous terrain, and of intervening imperial

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affiliation; he speculates that Byzantine gold was especially attractive following loss of the Lombard treasure to the Byzantines after the murder of Alboin and Rosamund's flight to Ravenna; L'età longobarda, 4 vols. (Milan, 1966-68), II, 69-74; loss of Lombard treasure is reported in Hist. Lang. II, xxviii and xxix, dated by Foulke to 572 or 573 in n's 1 and 2, pp. 81 and 84.

<sup>22</sup> Jan T. Hallenbeck thinks that the duchies at Spoleto and Benevento, forming under war bands led by independent dukes, developed in such a way that "neither duchy had an original or natural sense of dependence" upon a monarchy; Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 72:4 (1982), 6; Roger Collins thinks that the dukes built up their own fiscal bases during the period by dividing "Roman" taxpayers, which gave the dukes a basis for continued independence of royal patronage later, despite giving half of their revenue to the restored monarchy; discussion in Early Medieval Europe 300-1000, Macmillan History of Europe (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991), 191-93.

<sup>23</sup> Boggetti thinks Zotto's actions were guided by Byzantine influence and gold, noting that it was in the Eastern interest to keep Lombards as federates, freeing resources for the war against the Persians; L'età longobarda, II, 70-73; Pochettino in contrast sees Zotto as a largely autonomous figure ("un vero conquistatore"); I langobardi, 21, 45-46.

territory.<sup>24</sup>

Over time, control of his dukes proved to be one of the king's most difficult tasks; the dukes, as judicial and military leaders in their respective civitates (cities with surrounding territories), could call upon Lombard freemen for military service, and this was a source of potential conflict of loyalty for freemen owing military service to the king as well. Dukes began also to retain sworn, armed retinues, known as gasindii, who were in a position to oppose the king or the royal officials such as gastalds, appointed to manage the king's affairs and properties. In theory, dukes and gastalds somewhat counter-balanced one another, for either could appeal to the king if he felt the other had been unjust.<sup>25</sup>

The dukes of Benevento and Spoleto proved especially difficult for the king to control, for the distance from

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<sup>24</sup> Estimates for the founding date by Zotto range from 569 to 591; Hodgkin says 571, following Paul the Deacon (III: xxxiii), who notes a twenty-year reign for Zotto; VI, 71 and n. 1; descriptions of Benevento's setting and advantages as a center for expansion are found in Pochettino, I langobardi, 7, 11, and 17; and in Hodgkin VI, 63, with a description of the four roads passing through, 64-67.

<sup>25</sup> Rothair's Edicts 23 and 24 provide for investigation and appeal of cases by dukes or gastalds; Leges Langobardorum, ed. F. Bluhme, MGH, Leges, IV; in Katherine Fischer Drew, The Lombard Laws (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), 57.

Pavia enabled them at times to pursue their own policy.<sup>26</sup> At the end of the sixth century, both dukes refused to sign a peace treaty between the Lombard king Agilulf and the exarch Callinicus until certain conditions advantageous to their interests were met.<sup>27</sup> In 728-729, the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto made an alliance with Pope Gregory II against Liutprand, but the king successfully countered their action by allying with the Exarch Eutychius in 730; Liutprand later replaced both dukes.<sup>28</sup>

The question has risen whether the two southern duchies, with their wayward tendencies, actually were part of the kingdom. Both southern dukes showed separatist tendencies after Aistulf's death in 756 by attempting to commend themselves to Pepin through pope Stephen II.<sup>29</sup> The

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<sup>26</sup> That some sort of early attempt to curb Benevento's autonomy may have occurred is suggested by the legendary story told by Paul the Deacon, that king Authari rode south in his kingdom through Spoleto and Benevento, "took possession" of the region, and going to Reggio touched a column in the water there with his spear, declaring that his kingdom extended to these limits; Hist. Lang., III, xxxii, 145-46, and Foulke's n. 1, 146, citing the story's kinship with saga and perhaps epic song.

<sup>27</sup> Opposition by dukes Arichis and Ariulf over the peace is discussed in Hodgkin, V, 413-19, citing letters of Gregory I.

<sup>28</sup> Agilulf's problem with the dukes is found in Hodgkin V, 413-418, citing letters of Gregory I for details; Liutprand's actions are recorded in Paul's Hist. Lang., VI, lv.

<sup>29</sup> Discussion of the situation, which led to the replacement of both southern dukes by king Desiderius, is found in Thomas F. X. Noble, The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of The Papal States, 680-815 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 103 and n. 21, citing the Codex Carolinus 11, found in Auguste Molinier, Les sources de l'histoire de France

duchies seem to have been considered foreign territory during the reign of king Ratchis (744-749), for one of his laws penalized by loss of life and property anyone sending his representative without the king's permission "to Rome, Ravenna, Spoleto, Benevento, France, Bavaria, Alamannia, Raetia, or to the land of the Avars."<sup>30</sup> In addition, Benevento was the only duchy to have its own coinage apart from the royal mints in the North; Beneventan coins survive from as early as the reign of duke Gisulf I (689-706).<sup>31</sup>

Weighing evidence for and against non-participation in the kingdom on the part of the two southern dukes, it is difficult to go as far as Wickham, who asserts that "(t)he Lombard kingdom did not include the South."<sup>32</sup> "Belonging" to a kingdom surely involves elements that go beyond political submission, including strong attachment to one's heritage, which continued among the Beneventan Lombards as Erchempert's History confirms. The additions made by

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des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494) (Paris, 1901-06), 6 vols., I, no. 656.

<sup>30</sup> Ratchis, Concerning those who send their agents outside the boundaries of the country, in Drew, Lombard Laws, 221.

<sup>31</sup> Benevento would seem to be in violation of Lombard law, where illegal minting of coins without the king's permission was punished by cutting off the guilty party's hand; Leges Lang., Rothair's Edict, 243, in Drew, Lombard Laws, 100; discussion of Beneventan solidus and triens in Hodgkin, V, xix and xxi, with plate illustrating Byzantine and Lombard coins, and ducal initials and monograms; a recent work on the subject is Ernesto Bernareggi, Moneta Langobardorum (Lugano, 1989).

<sup>32</sup> Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 33.

Arichis II (duke 758, prince 774-787) to the earlier body of Lombard law convey a sense of continuity, not repudiation, of previous royal enactments; his fourth law, for instance, allows for protection of the clergy not adequately treated in earlier laws.<sup>33</sup> Arichis's self-elevation to "prince" in 774 is an affirmation of his intention to continue Lombard rulership despite the Frankish conquest, and his successors continue his efforts to uphold Lombard "freedom."

Efforts to maintain unity involved orderly succession to the rule, which often proved difficult at both the royal and ducal level; Erchempert's History gives ample evidence of this failure among the Beneventan Lombards. Hereditary succession, even with a capable adult heir available, was usually carried out only with agreement of the nobles, as at the end of the interregnum, when Cleph's son, Authari, was chosen; when a suitable heir was lacking, the elective principle was applied. The timely appearance of a strong leader could also influence the succession; Grimoald I, duke of Benevento from 647 to 662, gathered support from allies to overthrow Aripert's two ineffective sons and seize the kingship; he also established a lasting dynasty at

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<sup>33</sup> Capitula domni Aregis principis, MGH, Leges, vol. IV, 207-210; law no. 4 establishes a fine of 200 solidi (or up to 300, at the prince's discretion) for killing a monk, priest, or deacon; clergy earlier were generally covered under Roman law.

Benevento.<sup>34</sup> Radelchis, son of the Benventan prince Adelchis, ruled less than three years before he was driven out by the Beneventans; his brother Aio was proposed as successor in his place.<sup>35</sup>

Although Benevento's dukeship tended at an early period to become hereditary, the king intervened several times to appoint the duke. King Agilulf appointed Zotto's successor, Arichis I (591-641); Liutprand twice deposed and replaced Benevento's duke, and in 758 Desiderius appointed his son-in-law, Arichis II, as duke.<sup>36</sup>

The duchy of Benevento was organized around a centralized system of administration similar to that of the kingdom, with the duke appointing officials in what seem to have been districts grouped around major cities, called iudicariae or actus, later termed gastaldati. Gastalds administered the curtis ducalis or ducal properties, served as military leaders and judicial magistrates, and could be given greater duties such as thesaurarius (treasurer) or refendarius (chancellor). In addition, there were a number

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<sup>34</sup> Paul's account of Grimoald's capture of the crown with the help of nobles throughout the kingdom is found in Hist. Lang., IV, li; Grimoald I ruled at Pavia until 671, and his son, two grandsons, and a great-grandson succeeded him as dukes of Benevento.

<sup>35</sup> Erchempert, Hist., ch. 48.

<sup>36</sup> Accounts of Agilulf's appointment of Arichis I are found in Paul, Hist. Lang., IV, xviii; Liutprand's action at Benevento, VI, lv-lviii; Liutprand replaced the usurper Adalais in 732 with an outsider, his own nephew Gregory, and Gottschalk in 742 with his great-nephew Gisulf II.



of other positions whose exact duties are uncertain--duddus, stolesaitz, vicedominus, marepahis, cubicularius.<sup>37</sup>

Gastalds were not lifetime appointees (as were the king's counts and dukes generally in the north), but served rather as "employees," whose services might vary according to the duke's need. There is evidence, however, that the position of gastalds was beginning to become hereditary by the middle of the ninth century.<sup>38</sup>

The title of "count" is found listed in enactments of the Beneventan duke before 774, perhaps influenced by Frankish custom, and this usage continues in diplomas and charters under the principate, and in narrative sources; Erchempert uses the title several times.<sup>39</sup> At Benevento the title also suggests a tendency over time for certain

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<sup>37</sup> Officers of the ducal palace are discussed in René Poupardin, Les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles), (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Éd., 1907), 23-30; he thought the most important functionary was the chancellor (referendarius), and beside him the treasurer (variously called thesaurarius, zetarius [both similar to cubicularius], or stolesayz). Poupardin notes the use of gastaldatus in official documents as the equivalent of ministerium, citing Radelchisi et Siconolfi divisio, ch. 1: "integra gastaldata seu ministeria;" 32 and n. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Discussion of gastalds and a list of cities where they are known to have served are found in Poupardin, Institutions politiques, 30-39; further discussion of offices in Pochettino, I langobardi, 46-51; Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 159; and Gay, L'Italie méridionale, I, 26.

<sup>39</sup> He calls Radechis "comes" of Conza in 817 (ch. 8) and also Ursus, count there in 840 (ch. 14); Landulf, Lando, and Pandonolf have this title at Capua (ch's 21, 19, and 30); title of count and its occurrence in the sources discussed by Poupardin, Institutions, 39-44.

gastalds to rise to greater prominence than others, perhaps from being given additional duties.<sup>40</sup>

By Erchempert's time, gastalds--whether or not they assume the title of count--are frequently involved in plots to promote their own interests. Sico, gastald of Acerenza, joins count Radechis of Conza in assassinating Grimoald III in 817, and Sico seizes power in Benevento; Landulf I, gastald of Capua (815-843), withdraws his loyalty from prince Radelgis in 840, promotes himself to "count," and allies himself first with Radelgis's rival, Siconolf, and then with the Neapolitans; Atenolf uses his castrum at Calvi as a base from which to build up a band of followers and then seizes the power at Capua in 887.<sup>41</sup>

A connection between ownership of land and acquisition of power contributed to decentralizing tendencies among the Lombards. The apparent lack of a land tax among the Lombards had a role in this process, as the army's support now came from settlement on the land rather than from the state.<sup>42</sup> Military leaders who became land owners and hence

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<sup>40</sup> Discussion is found in Poupardin, Institutions, 40-41 and n. 6, where a Guaimar comes et thesaurarius of the prince's family is noted as appearing in Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis, 8 vols., ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani, and S. De Stefano (Naples, Milan, and Pisa, 1873-83), I, no. clxxiv.

<sup>41</sup> Erchempert, Hist., Sico and Radechis, ch's 8, 9; Landulf I ch. 15; Atenolf, ch's 40, 64.

<sup>42</sup> Harrison finds evidence for lack of Lombard equivalent to Roman tax system (per caput) in silence on the subject among chroniclers and other writers, and by evidence found in a letter of Gregory I of 595, who reports that wealthy

nobles could build up extensive land holdings and acquire gasindii, whose sworn loyalty to their lord in turn presented a threat to the king or prince; continuance in power might well depend on the consent of ambitious landed nobles.<sup>43</sup>

The power of landed nobles to challenge established rulers becomes evident in Erchempert's accounts of the Capuan ruling family: Lando builds a fort at Cales to counteract his cousin Pandonulf's power, and later gives houses and other gifts to his followers "according to service to him;" Atenolf uses his castrum at Calvi as his base for gathering sworn followers and seizing rule of Capua.<sup>44</sup>

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landowners on Corsica were fleeing from heavy imperial taxes to settle in Lombard Italy ("ad nefandissiman Langobardorum gentem"); MGH, Epistolarum I: V:38, 324-26; Early State, 219 and n. 140; further discussion in Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 40, where he notes that the state's resources now came almost entirely from landowning.

<sup>43</sup> Erchempert's account of the defection of Radelchis's nobles to Siconolf gives a sense of this process; Hist., ch's 14, 15, and 17.

<sup>44</sup> The account of Lando's fort is found in Hist., ch. 45; Atenolf's gathering of sworn followers, ch. 64; Nicola Cilento examines origins and successes of the Capuan dynasty in Le origini della signoria capuana nella Longobardia minore, Studi Storici 69-70 (Rome: 1966), especially 81-151; in an analysis of the Salernitan nobility, Huguette Taviani-Carozzi cites acquisition of family land near Nocera by Guaifer's family before 860, from which his family rose to found a dynasty of princes which lasted until 977; discussion in La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale, 2 vols., Collection de L'École Française de Rome, 152 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), I, 75 and n. 125, citing documents of family land acquisition in Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis, I, 45, 55, 58.

Lombard achievements under the kingdom, in addition to the establishment of strong centralized rule, included their simultaneous settlement on the land. Details of early Lombard settlement on the land in Italy following the invasion are not clear from the sources, but the Lombards possibly varied the system of hospitalitas practiced elsewhere in the barbarian kingdoms, in which Germanic settlers claimed for themselves one third of the land occupied by their "hosts." Paul the Deacon reports, in a much-debated passage, that after killing many noble Romans, "the remainder were divided among their 'guests' and made tributaries, that they should pay the third part of their products to the Langobards."<sup>45</sup>

While this seems to imply that the Lombards supported themselves solely by dividing the Roman landowners and perhaps laborers and taking one third of the products of the land, they certainly also worked the land themselves; many of their laws reflect the regulation of agricultural matters.<sup>46</sup> The Lombards' close ties to the land and dependence on it (conditions common among other peoples in the early medieval world) are evident in Erchempert's accounts of devastation to land, crops, and animals;

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<sup>45</sup> Hist. Lang., II, xxxii, 87-91.

<sup>46</sup> Leges Lang.; Rothair's Edict, issued in 643, includes numerous laws dealing with such matters as mills, farm animals, tenant slaves (massarii), and land rights; see Drew, Lombard Laws, for list of titles, 40-53, and laws, 53-130.

damaging the enemy's farms and food supply was clearly an effective military strategy.<sup>47</sup>

In the South, land settlement by duke Zotto's followers (probably organized as faeae or families) likely involved use of lands abandoned by the Ostrogoths in the highlands around Benevento, areas available to new settlers without causing great problems for the inhabitants.<sup>48</sup> Vacant land close to Benevento was evidently still available nearly a century later, judging from an account in Paul the Deacon's History, in which he reports that king Grimoald I asked his son, the Beneventan duke Romuald, to allow Bulgarians under their duke, Alzeco, to settle around 662 in the mountain towns of Sepino, Bovianum and Isernia north of Benevento.<sup>49</sup>

Land settlement has particular significance for Nicola Cilento, who connects early family possession of land (and further "sproutings" (gemmazione) of these families) to the

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<sup>47</sup> Muslim desolation of Liburia is recorded in Hist., ch. 51; Athanasius's attack while the Capuans harvest grapes, ch. 56; Athanasius's destruction of land around Capua and seizure of crops, ch. 70; Aio's counter-attack by ravaging Liburia, carrying off people and animals, and stopping up wells with rock, ch. 71; Atenolf's seizure of crops of Naples's allies at the amphitheater, ch. 73.

<sup>48</sup> Pochettino notes the likelihood that Zotto and his followers followed a route to the South other than the Via Latina through Capua, where he thinks the city's wealth and appeal might have redirected their settlement; discussion in I langobardi, 17.

<sup>49</sup> Bulgarian settlement in Paul's History, V, xxix; Hodgkin feels that this settlement was partly a defensive measure against attack from Rome or Naples, as all three towns were located "on the back-way leading from the Via Latina across the mountains to Benevento;" VI, 283-85 and n. 1, 284-85.

development of dominant noble dynasties of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, a process resulting in "piccole signorie laiche" (little lay lordships) which later led to formation of landed territorial lordships in southern Italy. He finds a potential under Germanic legal principles for possession of land to give a sort of power in itself with the potential to result in political fragmentation, private jurisdiction, and "incastellamento," involving full jurisdictional authority.<sup>50</sup>

Consideration of Lombard land settlement among "Roman" land holders introduces the question of the degree of fusion which took place between the two peoples.<sup>51</sup> Mixed marriages were apparently not prohibited by law, even at an early period, for Rothair's Edict of 643 contains no restriction on marriages with Romans.<sup>52</sup> An indication that such marriages were occurring is found in one of Liutprand's

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<sup>50</sup> Nicola Cilento, Italia meridionale longobarda (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1966), 6-7, who unfortunately does not sufficiently explain the fondamento giuridico di origine germanica which gives land possession such potential power for political fragmentation (il frazionamento politico); his reader is left to assume that it comes from the sortes (original unalienable allotments), augmented over time to become seats of fortified family strongholds.

<sup>51</sup> Wickham and Harrison are representative of those seeing much fusion between Romans and Lombards (Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 64-79; Harrison, Early State, 41-50); Pochettino, I langobardi, 51-59, and Bertolini, Roma e i longobardi, 131-34, stress the separation between the two peoples.

<sup>52</sup> Bognetti notes that Rothair's Edict stands in contrast to other "barbarian" law in this regard; L'età longobarda, II, 113.

laws (compiled between 713 and 735), entitled "On Romans who marry Lombard women," which establishes that under such marriages the woman and the children are considered Roman and live under Roman law.<sup>53</sup> King Ratchis himself (744-49, 756-57) had a Roman wife and was considered more pro-Roman than his predecessor, Liutprand's nephew Hildeprand (735-44), who at least in papal circles was regarded as anti-Roman and a threat, as his uncle had been.<sup>54</sup>

Erchempert's History gives evidence that intermarriage was also occurring in the South among the Lombard, Frankish (Spoletan), and Neapolitan nobility; Sergius I, duke of Naples, was father-in-law of Landolf of Capua and helped him to seize Suessula; Siconolf was married to the sister of duke Guido of Spoleto; Athanasius, bishop of Naples, gives his granddaughter in marriage to Lando, count of Capua.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Leges Lang.; there is to be no penalty if the now-"Roman" woman is widowed and remarries without consent from the first husband's family; in Drew, Lombard Laws, 199-200.

<sup>54</sup> Ratchis's wife was named Tasia and daughter Rottruda, according to a marginal note in Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis, MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 467-489, ch. 25, 487; the writer of the Life of Zacharias (ch. 17) notes with satisfaction the election of Ratchis following the deposition of Liutprand's "ill-intentioned nephew;" The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817, trans. Raymond Davis, Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 13 (Liverpool University Press, 1992), 43-44, n. 63, 44, and n. 89, 48.

<sup>55</sup> These are found in Erchempert's Hist., ch's 23, 17, and 53, respectively; prince Adelchis's daughter Ageltrude was married to Guido (Guy) I of Spoleto, according to Taviani-Carozzi's reconstruction of the dynasty of princes of Benevento issuing from Radelchis I (839-851); La principauté lombarde, Table IV,

The extent of intermarriage in other levels of Lombard society remains unknown, but the subject has significance for considerations of just what being a "Lombard" meant by Erchempert's time, whether ethnically or legally; Erchempert's History raises a number of questions in this regard.<sup>56</sup>

One area in which some degree of fusion and cooperation took place was that of law, for Lombard and Roman systems of law were both used in Italy during the period of Lombard rule.<sup>57</sup> While it is not clear just how the two systems

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<sup>56</sup> Erchempert refers to Franks as a "barbarian people" (ch. 5); is he using the term in reference to their behavior, or perhaps to their language? He points to the Franks as a race enslaved by lust for money (ch. 17); is he implying that Lombards are superior to Franks in this respect? He deplores the destruction to "Roman earth" (Romana tellus) caused by the Lombard Gualaferius, commander of the amphitheater (ch. 74); is Erchempert speaking as a Lombard who considers his people to be "Roman" as well? Erchempert exults in Capua's victory over Naples (around 888), which restores peace to the region so that "those who had governed there for three hundred or more years by law began to be in command of those who had prevailed with the Saracens for some time." Material such as this suggests a need for analysis of what Lombard "ethnicity" meant by the ninth century.

<sup>57</sup> The various codes of Germanic law, known in earlier times through unwritten custom, have usually been considered as the "personal" law of the peoples living under them, applied wherever these people might be; "personality" of law, however, continues to be debated among legal historians, who feel that the term can perhaps be applied to Roman law as well as Germanic. Discussion of the general position of Roman law in Germanic kingdoms and in Lombard society is found in Drew, Lombard Laws, 11-12 and 21-37; a recent Italian study is Claudio Azzaro and Stefano Gasparri, Le Leggi dei Longobardi: Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico (Milan: Editrice La Storia, 1992); discussion of law is also found in Harrison, Early State, with a survey of recent



worked together, principles from each were likely applied where the interests of both Lombard and "Roman" or Byzantine subjects were concerned, which occurred in the South in the sharing of Liburia, a fertile area between Capua and Naples (the present Terra di Lavoro).

A cooperative agreement concerning Liburia appears to have been worked out at an early date between the Lombards and rulers of Naples, perhaps by the seventh century, in the form of a "condominium" or joint overlordship. It remains uncertain just what was involved for each party, but possibly a precedent existed in an agreement made in 688 between the Byzantines and Muslims to share Cyprus rather than continue fighting over exclusive possession. The Lombard-Neapolitan agreement likely involved sharing of revenue or products of the land, or perhaps joint ownership of tenants, much like arrangements involving condumae (slave families) elsewhere in Southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>58</sup>

Two documents survive for later agreements between the Lombards and Neapolitans concerning Liburia. One was the

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literature, 183-84 and n's 50, 51; Barbara M. Kreutz discusses continuing use of Lombard law into the Norman period in Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 107 and n. 74, 192, citing Salernitan charters found in Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis.

<sup>58</sup> Walter Goffart thinks that assessed value of property, established earlier by the Byzantine state, might have formed the basis for income to be shared between the two ruling powers; Barbarians and Romans A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation (Princeton University Press, 1980), 189-193 and n. 38, 193, for arrangement in Cyprus.

agreement made after 774 between Benevento's Duke Arichis II and the iudex of Naples to divide rulership over Liburia and to determine revenue owing to each ruler; the other was the Pactio of 836 between Benevento's Prince Sicard and the duke of Naples, again concerning Liburia.<sup>59</sup>

Arichis's agreement with Naples (Pactiones de Leburiiis cum Neapolitanis Factae), drawn up shortly after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombards in 774, was possibly intended as a peacemaking effort with Naples so that Lombard resources might be used for strengthening Beneventan defenses against Frankish incursions. (Erchempert writes that Arichis, hearing of the approach of Charlemagne's forces, "conceded peace to the Neapolitans" following an extended period of Lombard assault, granting them diaria--perhaps provisions or payment of some kind--to prevent their collaboration with the Franks against the Lombards.)<sup>60</sup>

The agreement stipulates that Neapolitans who have held land for at least twenty years will not be subject to render a return on that land (censum), the same to apply to Lombards with holdings dating from a similar period, who will not have to render payment to Naples. Lands given to Lombards in sortem (evidently by original allotment) may not

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<sup>59</sup> Arechis principis pactum cum iudice Neapolitanorum and Sicardi principis pactio cum Neapolitanis, found in MGH, Leges, IV, 213-15 and 216-21, respectively; Wickham dates the first agreement to around 786, Early Medieval Italy, 153; and Goffart to around 780; Barbarians and Romans, 189-96.

<sup>60</sup> Hist., ch. 2.

be alienated to Naples, and the same shall apply in reverse for holdings of Neapolitans. Oaths are required to verify earlier purchase agreements; provision is made for settling disputes over vacant farms by inquest rather than by oaths (which would place one party at risk of perjury), and for preventing slaves of either power from leaving their farms without their lords' permission. Some of the land's occupants are referred to as tertiatores, an obscure term with many possible interpretations, perhaps indicating an obligation to pay one-third of their surplus as tribute or rent.<sup>61</sup>

The second treaty, the Sicardi Pactio, was signed at Naples in 836 and provided for return of slaves, fugitives and criminals; it also included a special prohibition against selling of Lombards as slaves.

The land and resources of Liburia continued to be contested during the following century, as Erchempert brings out in numerous accounts of hostility between Neapolitans and Lombards. After Erchempert's time, efforts to restore the land are documented in the large number of "pastenare" contracts dating from the late ninth and the tenth centuries, found particularly in charters of Salerno, with some also from Amalfi and Naples. The leases were intended

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<sup>61</sup> Goffart theorizes that tertiatores were possibly the descendants of those originally receiving land allotments and that they had some status, perhaps as independent possessors or free cultivators in some ways similar to the Greek georgos or "free peasant;" Barbarians and Romans, 197-199 and n. 50.

to encourage recultivation by offering favorable terms (sometimes with an option to buy the land at the end) in areas which are often noted as "vacua" from Islamic devastation, depopulation, and Lombard civil wars of the ninth century.<sup>62</sup>

The Lombards, in addition to their achievements in establishing rulership and working out settlement on the land, managed for nearly two centuries to balance policies of territorial expansion with concessions in the face of papal and imperial reaction. King Liutprand (712-744) was especially skillful in this regard, controlling his dukes and maintaining friendly relations with Frankish rulers while preserving the equilibrium between Lombard, papal, and imperial interests.<sup>63</sup> The problem for the student of Lombard history is that no account by a Lombard or by one sympathetic to their situation exists for the period after Liutprand's reign, when difficulties rose which led to the overthrow of the kingdom.

After Liutprand's death in 744, events occurred which greatly changed the situation in the West and ended the

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<sup>62</sup> Discussion is found in Kreutz, Before the Normans, 111 and n. 98, 194, citing as examples Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis I, nos. 169 and 170, for years 940 and 942, respectively.

<sup>63</sup> Paul the Deacon devotes the last twenty chapters of his History to Liutprand's reign (VI, xxxviii-lviii), praising him as "indeed a man of much wisdom, very religious and a lover of peace, shrewd in counsel, powerful in war."

Lombards' prospects for unifying Italy. Several related factors appear to have contributed to their demise, including loss of a cordial relationship with the much more numerous Franks, dealings with a papacy now largely independent of imperial control and claiming virtually monarchical rights in the name of Saint Peter, and rebellion along with separatist tendencies among some of the dukes.<sup>64</sup>

The ability of the Papacy to muster real military power from the numerous landed military aristocrats settled throughout the Duchy of Rome, along with the spiritual and civic leadership which it had claimed since early times, combined to present a formidable force against Lombard ambitions. In addition, the Papacy was developing a new rhetoric as protector of the lands and people of the church (Sanctae Dei Ecclesiae populus peculiaris) which proved to be persuasive and powerful in obtaining Frankish help against the Lombards.<sup>65</sup>

In 750, Pope Zacharias (741-752) affirmed Pepin as rightful king of Gaul, setting aside the long-ineffective Merovingian monarchy, and Pepin was anointed and crowned

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<sup>64</sup> Progressively negative accounts of Lombard aggression and papal reaction are found in the Liber Pontificalis, in Lives of Zacharias (741-752) through Stephen III (768-772), found in Davis, Lives of the Eighth Century Popes, 29-106.

<sup>65</sup> Noble argues that a "Republic of St. Peter" was developing by the late seventh century with support of landed military aristocrats; discussion of Gregory III's diplomacy and new rhetoric in Republic, pp. 42-46; Bertolini finds the power of this rhetoric decisive in the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom; discussion in Roma e i longobardi, 47-48, 79-82.

soon after.<sup>66</sup> The Lombards had been pressing hard upon the remaining imperial territories in the northeast; during Liutprand's reign, Faroald, duke of Spoleto, had attacked Ravenna's port of Classis, but the king forced him to restore it to the Romans; Liutprand himself then besieged Ravenna and took Classis, destroying it around 725.<sup>67</sup> Aistulf (749-756) at last took Ravenna itself in 751, virtually eliminating Byzantine authority in northern Italy and leaving the papacy and Lombards as contenders for these imperial territories.

In 754, Stephen II (752-757), with Aistulf now besieging Rome and no help forthcoming from Constantinople, traveled to Gaul and reconsecrated Pepin as king of the Franks, granting him and his two sons the title Patricius Romanorum (which was the Exarch's title as well), and he prohibited the Franks from ever choosing kings not of

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<sup>66</sup> Pepin "the Short," Mayor of the Palace 741-751; King 751-768. The famous question asked of Pope Zacharias by Pepin ("whether it was good or not that the kings of the Franks should wield no royal power") and the Pope's response ("that it was better to call him king who had the royal power than the one who did not") are recorded in the Annales regni Francorum, in Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories, tr. Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1972), Annals for 749, p. 39; Hodgkin's account in VII, The Frankish Invasions, 127-29, cites the Annales laurissenses and Annales laurissenses minores; Hodgkin notes that the exact date of Pepin's subsequent coronation varies among the chroniclers from 750 to 753; VII, n. 2, 134.

<sup>67</sup> Paul, Hist. Lang., VI, xliv and xlix.

Pepin's line.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, in an agreement later known as the "Donation of Pepin," the king directed that the Empire's possessions in northern Italy were to go "to St. Peter," forming what would later become the Papal States.<sup>69</sup>

The pope's support of the vigorous new Frankish dynasty was well suited to his own purposes, for papal estrangement from the Eastern Empire had been increasing for some time. Constans II (642-668, grandson of Heraclius and known more correctly as Constantine IV), while campaigning in Italy in an apparent attempt to reestablish his capital at Rome, had stripped much of the metal and treasure from Rome's churches and buildings, partly in vengeance for Roman refusal to obey him in the Monothelete dispute.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> F. L. Ganshof thinks that Charlemagne later made use of the title of patricius Romanorum as "the legal basis of a protectorate which he intended to exercise over the pontifical state;" The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History, trans. Janet Sondheimer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 18.

<sup>69</sup> The papal version of these events found in the Liber Pontificalis for Zacharias (741-752) through Hadrian I (772-795), Davis, Lives of the Eighth Century Popes, 29-142; Frankish account in the Annales regni Francorum for 750-756 in Scholz, 39-42, and notes 179-81; Hodgkin thought it likely that Pepin and Stephen II based their actions on some understanding of the ancient responsibilities traditionally ascribed to St. Peter's heir in Rome, later appearing in the mythical "Donation of Constantine;" VII, 135-59; Noble thinks the myth was fabricated between the pontificates of Stephen II and Hadrian and is significant in confirming an already-existing "Republic" under papal rule, essentially independent of the Byzantine empire; Republic, 134-37.

<sup>70</sup> Constans's campaign is found in the Liber Pontificalis, Life of Vitalian, in Davis, Book of Pontiffs, 71-72, including Constans's twelve days in Rome and oppressive measures in Sicily; Constans's campaign is also reported in Paul's Hist.

The policies of Leo III (the Isaurian, 717-740) had widened the separation between the papacy and Byzantium, for around 722 or 723 he decreed a tax on all land in Italy under imperial rule (including that of the Church), and papal opposition resulted in an attempted invasion of Italy by Leo's forces, followed by removal of considerable numbers of papal patrimonies in Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the authority of the eastern patriarch. Bitter papal opposition to Leo's iconoclastic policies, along with continuing failure of the Eastern emperors to provide sufficient military help against the Lombards, made even more attractive an alliance with the Franks and more certain a break with Byzantium.<sup>71</sup>

Pepin twice led armies into Italy, in 755 and 756, in an attempt to force Aistulf to restore disputed areas to the Pope and pay tribute to the Franks. His son Charles (Charlemagne), took another step toward war with the Lombards early in his reign by repudiating his wife, the daughter of king Desiderius.<sup>72</sup> (The Beneventan prince

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Lang., V, vi-xiv, including sacking of Luceria and invasion of the duchy of Benevento with siege of Benevento; narrative in Hodgkin, VI, 270-83, citing Theophanes for details of Constans's murder.

<sup>71</sup> Liber Pontificalis accounts are found in Davis, Lives of Gregory II and Gregory III and discussion, 1-28, and n. 44, 10, concerning the tax levy; Hodgkin cites Theophanes for details of the papal-imperial conflict, VI, 424-36 and 59-65.

<sup>72</sup> Davis discusses rumors concerning the marriage-alliance, which had been promoted by the queen-mother, Bertrada; Lives, n. 76, 102-03; letter of Stephen II admonishing Charles for



Adelchis II gives a Lombard perspective a century later when he states in the prologue to his laws that Charlemagne rose against King Desiderius from envy of his father-in-law's position; Andreas, a monk of Bergamo, wrote that Charles and his followers were forgetful of the many kindnesses Desiderius had shown them.<sup>73</sup>)

Charlemagne, taking advantage of apparent unrest in the Lombard kingdom and disaffection toward Desiderius, invaded Italy with his army in 773 and captured Pavia in 774, seizing the king and his family and overthrowing the Lombard kingdom. He then proclaimed himself King of the Lombards.<sup>74</sup>

During a visit to Rome in April 774, Charlemagne (according to the Liber Pontificalis) confirmed his father's "donation" of the former imperial lands to the papacy and specified the boundaries of the papal territory, which was

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this devil-inspired marriage plan which risks defilement of the Frankish race by the "most stinking" Lombards ("ac foetentissimae Langobardorum gente polluatur..."); in Philipp Jaffé, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, IV, Monumenta Carolina (Berlin, 1867), 159.

<sup>73</sup> ". . . qui sedi eius invidens et insidians, contra eundem subdole et callide agere non refugit," Adelchis principis capitula, MGH, Leges, IV, Prologue, 210; Andreae Bergomatis historia, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, Scr. rer. lang., 220-230, ch. 4, 224.

<sup>74</sup> The Annales regni Francorum for 773-774 is found in Scholz, Carolingian Chronicles, 49-51; Noble points out that Desiderius was a threat to Charlemagne because he was trying to get Carloman's sons (Charlemagne's nephews) anointed kings; Republic, 131-32; Liber Pontificalis, Life of Hadrian I and Davis's notes, citing several Frankish annals for details, Lives, 107-72, especially n. 71, 142-43.

to include the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.<sup>75</sup>

The Lombard kingdom was destroyed, yet much remained to allow the Lombard people a continuing sense of their "nation." Charlemagne did not incorporate Italy into the Regnum Francorum, nor did he leave Italy occupied with Frankish forces, instead allowing the Lombards to retain their system of law and other institutions. He gradually replaced many of the Lombard dukes with Frankish counts, however, establishing "marches" along Italy's frontiers, and requiring Lombards to contribute military forces to his campaigns.

The Carolingians were never successful in controlling all of Italy, especially the South; Erchempert's History gives evidence that the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor in 800, while a revolutionary act, did not eliminate Byzantine involvement in the South, where Byzantine emperors continued to contend for supremacy against the Beneventan Lombards, along with Frankish, Papal, and Islamic forces.

There are various theories concerning the Lombards' failure to unify and hold Italy, some based upon arguments over the degree of fusion achieved between Lombards and

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<sup>75</sup> Davis points out in his introduction to Hadrian I's biography that doubt continues to exist about the nature of Pepin's agreement at Quierzy in 754 and the exact boundaries or the degree of territorial control the pope might expect following Charlemagne's signing of the 774 agreement; discussion in Lives, 108-112.

indigenous residents of Italy, which affected the kingdom's strength. One theory is based upon a conviction that qualities of Lombard ethnicity, even after conversion to Christianity, remained in opposition in fundamental ways to many elements in Italian life, creating tensions which constituted a major factor in the eventual fall of the kingdom.<sup>76</sup> A counter argument can be made that there was considerable assimilation between the two groups, brought about by a common religion, development of a common stock of names, and cultural forms which gradually mixed Germanic with classical and Byzantine tradition, making it unlikely that sharp differences between the various groups in Italy continued to divide society for two hundred years.<sup>77</sup>

The Lombards, as a military aristocracy, had at an early period reserved for themselves the right to bear arms, thus limiting the numbers of soldiers available to confront their enemies, a critical element in the kingdom's failure in the opinion of some writers. (Pochettino found this the principal reason for the later failure of the Beneventan Lombards.<sup>78</sup>) New social and economic qualifications

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<sup>76</sup> This is a view held by P. Delogu, "Il regno longobardo," in Storia d'Italia, vol. I: Longobardi e Bizantini (Turin, 1980), 116-21, 128-29, 165-68, 191, cited in Harrison, Early State, 42 and n. 12.

<sup>77</sup> Harrison holds this opinion; discussion of assimilation, Early State, 41-50; he concludes that in essence "(t)he fall of the kingdom in 774 was due to foreign aggression," 232.

<sup>78</sup> Pochettino, I langobardi, 188-91.

developed, however, which replaced the earlier racial ones in determining who was eligible to serve as a Lombard warrior (arimannus, exercitalis); no barriers seem thereafter to have excluded "Roman" participants, and the old Lombard "warrior ideology" by the eighth century became associated with having the necessary wealth (from landholding or riches accumulated by trade or other means) to take part in the army. King Aistulf (749-756) established in two of his laws the specific requirements for men to provide armor for warfare according to their wealth and ability to do so, with no mention as to ethnic status.<sup>79</sup>

In seeking possible reasons for the kingdom's problems, another factor was that serious defections among the nobles seem to have taken place under Desiderius, particularly in Brescia and Friuli, and ill-will evidently existed between the families of Desiderius and his predecessor, Aistulf.<sup>80</sup> Failure of the kings to retain the loyalty of sufficient numbers of military retainers is another reason put forth

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<sup>79</sup> Leges Lang., Laws of King Aistulf, Concerning those men who can afford armor, I, 2: "All men who can afford it should at least have a coat of mail;" Concerning merchants, I, 3: "with regard to those men who are merchants and have money wealth (pecunias) . . .;" Drew, Lombard Laws, 228.

<sup>80</sup> Hodgkin, VII, 364-65, cites a document of c. 772 signed by the young prince Adelchis at Brescia with the names of nobles whose property was confiscated; disaffection of Anselm, formerly duke of Friuli and then monk and founder of monastery of Nonantola, is also recorded in Vita Anselmi and Catalogus Abbatum; MGH, Rer. Lang. Scr., 567, 569, and 571.

for the kingdom's failure. Royal patronage is noted as usually favoring already-established landowners, and there is evidence that royal gifts were not generous compared to those given by Carolingian kings.<sup>81</sup> Lastly, the separatist tendencies of the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto were damaging to the kingdom's unity.

Continuing animosity toward the Lombards on the part of the church is another factor noted in the Lombards' failure; Hodgkin argued that despite adoption of orthodoxy and lavish gifts to the church, the Lombards continued to be seen as "still the same 'most unspeakable, most foul and stinking' race" as at their first entrance into Italy. He concludes that "assuredly in this case the antipathy was one of race rather than of religion."<sup>82</sup>

Concerning the Lombards' relationship with the church, Ottorino Bertolini places blame primarily on the Lombards for the antagonistic role they immediately established toward the Papacy, whose secular power from the time of Gregory I (590-604) was at odds with Lombard aims for expansion. Relying heavily on the papal biographies,

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<sup>81</sup> Discussion is found in Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 130-37, who argues that the Lombard state did not fall because of the relative underdevelopment of ranks of gasindii or sworn personal followers of the king: "The Franks were, simply, militarily more powerful and more experienced;" 135.

<sup>82</sup> Hodgkin's discussion is found in VII, 384-85, ending with a comparison of Lombards and Anglo-Saxons: "In both nations there was for long the same want of cohesion (till the Church, the enemy of Lombard unity, accomplished the unity of England). . . ."

Bertolini cites the moral leadership of the Papacy, against which the Lombards' military force could not prevail. From his perspective, the Lombards committed a fundamental error in placing themselves in a position from which they could no longer "proclaim themselves combatants pro fide vera et christianorum salute, on the side of Rome and the popes."<sup>83</sup>

After Charlemagne's conquest of 774, new balances and realignments of power developed in the South between Lombards, Carolingians, Byzantines, Neapolitans, and the papacy. With the expansion of the Duchy of Benevento into a Principate under Arichis II, the southern Lombards attempted to carry on the tradition of Lombard sovereignty begun in the North of Italy. The problems of the ninth century, however, would test and surpass the power of the princes to maintain the unity of the principate, and "sovereignty" would become an ideal, far from the reality faced by rulers of the South. Erchempert is fully aware that he is living in a far different world, where Lombard "independence" must be adjusted to the claims of several other autonomous powers. There are no Zottos in the ninth century South;

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<sup>83</sup> Bertolini disagrees with Machiavelli's condemnation of the popes for preventing Lombard unification of Italy and for invoking foreign intervention from beyond the Alps which long prevented Italy from achieving the status of a state analagous to France and Spain; he insists that the Lombards must bear the blame for attempting to reduce the Church of Rome to their subjection; Roma e i longobardi, 131-32 and n. 277, citing Machiavelli's Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio, I, 12; and Istorie fiorentine, I, 9.

governing--not conquering--is the concern, along with the difficulties of balancing diplomacy with military action.

Erchempert's role as a monk is a reminder that there was another "principality" in the region, the "Terra Sancti Benedicti," closely tied to the princely one and involving Lombard "milites" who were following the tradition of Saint Benedict. Further understanding of Erchempert's world may be gained by next considering what is known of this "dominion," and by seeing events of the ninth century from the monastic perspective at Monte Cassino.

## Chapter 2: Monte Cassino

Erchempert's concerns as a monk attached to the monastery at Monte Cassino are apparent throughout his History. The abbey was closely connected to the life of Southern Italy and was profoundly affected by the course of events which began in the late eighth century--Carolingian conquest, Islamic invasion, splitting of the Beneventan principality, and resurgence of Byzantine strength.

Erchempert's numerous accounts of fighting around Capua in particular begin to make sense when one realizes that he was there himself, sent at some point from Teano by his abbot after Muslims destroyed the monastery at Monte Cassino in 883. Erchempert's narrative is that of a monk close to the action whose community is endangered by the instability around it.<sup>84</sup>

Sources for the history of the monastery at Monte Cassino (modern as well as medieval) present difficulties, both from loss of records over time and from the nature of material reflecting the veneration which has long surrounded

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<sup>84</sup> Erchempert is sent to Rome in 887 to gain papal protection for the monastery's Capuan property and discovers upon return that his own "cella" has been stolen by Capua's ruler, Atenolf; Hist., ch. 69. Paul Edward Dutton discusses ways in which Frankish monks such as those at Reichenau and Fulda were also involved in efforts to defend the interests of their communities and protect the honor of their patron saints; discussion in The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), with applicable material in the Epilogue, 252-59.



the monastery and its founder, Benedict of Nursia. Much of what is known of its founding and early period comes from Gregory I's account of the life of Benedict in his Dialogues, written a generation after Benedict's death.<sup>85</sup> Gregory says his information about Benedict came from four abbots who had access to traditions about him, at least two of whom presumably knew him personally.<sup>86</sup>

The best sources for information about Erchempert himself and about the monastery in the ninth century--the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis--are of doubtful reliability in some crucial areas, especially concerning patronage by powerful political figures and acquisition of the monastery's properties.<sup>87</sup> The Chronica are widely used by historians, however, and are the principal source for the little that is known about Erchempert as a person.

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<sup>85</sup> Gregorii Magni Dialogi, libri IV, a cura di Umberto Moricca, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, no. 57 (Rome: Topografia del Senato, 1924); English translation in Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues, trans. Odo John Zimmerman, The Fathers of the Church, 39 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959).

<sup>86</sup> Greg. Dial., II, 56: "I was unable to learn about all his miraculous deeds. But the few that I am going to relate I know from the lips of four of his own disciples. . ." Gregory is the source also for knowledge of the Regula sancti Benedicti attributed to Benedict but which possibly depended upon the anonymous Regula magistri; Benedict was not mentioned by any other contemporary, nor did he leave any writings in which he identified himself.

<sup>87</sup> Leonis Marsicani et Petri Diaconi Chronica Monasterii Casinensis, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH, Script. (Hanover, 1846), VII, 551-844; newly edited by H. Hoffmann, Die Chronik von Montecassino in MGH, Scriptores, XXXIV (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980).

The Chronica were begun some two hundred years after Erchempert's lifetime by the monk Leo Marsicanus (Ostiensis); he is believed to have been connected with the counts of Marsi, and calls himself "frater Leo cognomine Marsicanus" in the prefatory letter; his other cognomen, Ostiensis, comes from his later appointment as bishop of Ostia. Leo, born around 1046, relates that he had been entrusted in his fourteenth year to abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino (1058-1087), under whom he was taught and nurtured; abbot Oderisius I (1087-1105) later commissioned him to write the monastery's history. Writing probably between 1099 and 1102, Leo began with Gregory I's account of the monastery's founding by Benedict in the sixth century, continuing the work to the year 1075.

Concerning Erchempert, he says that a certain noble of Teano, Adalgarius, gave his intellectually gifted son, "Herchempertus," along with oblations, to "the blessed Benedict."<sup>88</sup> This entry, together with evidence of

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<sup>88</sup> Ch. 47: ". . . Adalgarius quidam nobilis de Teano obtulit beato Benedicto cum oblationibus Herchempertum filium suum, docilis utique ingenii puerum;" Leonis Marsicani. . .Chronica (hereafter cited as Leo, Chronica); ceremony for giving of children by their parents found in Benedicti Regula, ed. Rudolphus Hanslik, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 75 (1960), ch. 59, in which parents are to write out a petition, wrapping it together with an offering and the child's hands in the altar cloth, with a dedication to God; details about circumstances surrounding Erchempert's entry into the abbey and his early years there remain unknown. Taviani-Carozzi argues that Erchempert's family were related to (and partisans of) Benevento's prince, and that Erchempert entered the monastery at an advanced age, but neither theory can be supported in the sources; La Principauté, I, 48.

Erchempert's status as grammaticus and probable author of other writings, provides some reassurance at least about his existence.<sup>89</sup>

Leo was apparently working from two contradictory sources concerning the date of Erchempert's entry into the monastery, which resulted in doubt among scholars about Erchempert's status as a monk of Monte Cassino as well as a grammaticus. P. Meyvaert challenged doubts on the part of H. W. Klewitz (d. 1943), who claimed that Leo's account of Erchempert was later inflated by his continuator, Peter the Deacon (a known falsifier), in order to glorify the monastery's reputation. Meyvaert seems to have ended the controversy by pointing out that subsequent redactions had led to the confusion.<sup>90</sup>

In his prefatory letter to abbot Oderisius, Leo cites his sources, which include monastic, imperial, and pontifical chronicles, privileges and concessions, and

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<sup>89</sup> A continuator of the Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis (to be discussed shortly) refers to "Archempertus grammaticus" under his entry for Duces Beneventi; Ulla Westerbergh supports the evidence for Erchempert's probable authorship of a dedicatory poem and the so-called Martyrologium Erchemperti in Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry (Lund, 1957), 74-87; "Historiam Erchemperti" appears on a list of books drawn up in 1077 under abbot Desiderius; Leo, Chronica, III, ch. 63.

<sup>90</sup> P. Meyvaert, "Erchempert, Moine du Mont Cassin," Revue Benedictine LXIX (1959): 101-05, responding to H. W. Klewitz, "Petrus Diaconus und die Montecassineser Klosterchronik des Leo von Ostia," Archiv für Urkundenforschung 14 (1936): 414-53. Meyvaert first reproaches Klewitz for failing to read Erchempert's History, where he would have satisfied his doubts by discovering Erchempert's detailed knowledge of events at Monte Cassino and his responsibilities there.

"those things at least which seemed to remain to us from the two fires of this cenobium."<sup>91</sup>

Uncertainty exists about the fate of Leo's chronicle at the hands of his continuators. Leo left the monastery to become cardinal bishop of Ostia; he is known to have taken part in the Lateran council of 1112 and he died around 1115. Guido, a teacher at Monte Cassino, continued the work to 1127, but Guido's student, Peter the Deacon (1107-1159), commissioned in 1140 by abbot Raynald II (1137-1166) to continue the work, concealed his teacher's contributions for some reason, which was discovered only recently.<sup>92</sup>

Peter the Deacon also compiled a register of the monastery's possessions (known as the Registrum Petri Diaconi), but he apparently tampered with records of the monastery's properties and privileges to such an extent that his work is considered highly unreliable (as noted in Klewitz's doubts, above).<sup>93</sup> The question is whether

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<sup>91</sup> ". . . quae dumtaxat nobis ex duobus cenobii huius incendiis residua esse videntur;" Leo, Chronica, Epistola Fratris Leonis ad Dominum Oderisium; account of the fire at Monte Cassino in 883, ch. 44; fire at the monastery at Teano in 896, ch. 48.

<sup>92</sup> Discussion is found in Herbert Bloch, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), I, 113-17, noting past controversy over redactions of the Chronica and Hoffman's success in clarifying Guido's work in the 1980 edition.

<sup>93</sup> Known forgeries by which Peter intended to establish ties between Monte Cassino and Byzantium from the time of Justinian are discussed in Bloch, Monte Cassino, I, 4-5; Tommaso Leccisotti (long-time archivist at the abbey) discusses the problems of evaluating the monastery's archival records in his

tampering might also have occurred with material in the Chronica dealing with Erchempert's period.<sup>94</sup>

More trustworthy than Leo's Chronica, if rather disorganized, is an earlier chronicle by an unknown monk of Monte Cassino writing during the abbacy of Bertharius (856-883) and apparently not himself a Lombard. It is particularly useful for information about Frankish involvement with the monastery, recording Louis II's mustering of troops for his campaign against the Muslims in 866.<sup>95</sup>

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Introduction to I regesti dell'archivio, Ministero dell'Interno Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato 54, Vol. I (Rome, 1964), vii-xviii; Leccisotti, while acknowledging the questionable reliability of Leo's Chronica, nonetheless relies upon it heavily in his much-cited history of the abbey, Montecassino, 9th ed. (Abbey of Montecassino, 1979); the work is marred (perhaps inevitably) by the excessive veneration paid to Benedict of Nursia, apparent in Leccisotti's capitalization throughout the book of pronouns referring to the monastery's founder ("Lui," "Egli").

<sup>94</sup> Peter's portrait of Erchempert in his book of distinguished monks of Monte Cassino appears to follow the sources, however, and gives a perspective on Erchempert two and a half centuries later; Petri Diaconi, De viris illustribus casinensis coenobii, found in PL 173, c. xiv, col. 1023: "Erchempertus diaconus, parvulus et ipse B. Benedicto oblatas, de destructione et renovatione Casinensis coenobii, necnon de Ismaelitarum incursione historiam necessariam satis composuit. Fuit vero tempore Ludovici imperatoris."

<sup>95</sup> Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 467-489 (the two parts were earlier edited separately and sometimes called Historiolae ignoti Casinensis); that the author was not a Lombard is suggested in neutral comments noting "their" leader as the archangel Michael, "this people of the Lombards" who in their dissension indulged in "killing their own princes," ch. 2, 469; reference to "Archempertus grammaticus" and to information in his History concerning Arichis II and his religious foundations, ch. 26, 488; the narrative runs to the year 867, followed by

The Chronicon Salernitanum, written around 974 by a monk or abbot of San Benedetto di Salerno who made use of Erchempert among other earlier sources, also provides information about events at Monte Cassino during the ninth century. The work is filled with colorful anecdotes (Kreutz calls it "that marvelous repository of south Italian gossip," and Wickham believes its writer "the most imaginative" historian of the period), but its accuracy and reliability are doubtful. Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, however, relies heavily upon the Chronicon Salernitanum in her recent study of the principality of Salerno; she thinks it useless to suspect the authenticity of information in the chronicle, arguing that the writer's "edifying anecdotes" should be considered "historiettes," and that "myth" helps explain the unexplainable in "real history."<sup>96</sup>

Most worrisome for Erchempert's reader in understanding Monte Cassino's situation is the unknown fate of the monastery's records following two disasters, the Islamic attack and burning of 883, and the second fire at Teano in

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later additions of small amounts of text along with listings of Lombard rulers, abbots of Monte Cassino, popes, Roman emperors from Augustus to Constantine (913), and brief notations about Islamic leaders.

<sup>96</sup> Chronicon Salernitanum: A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language, ed. Ulla Westerbergh (Lund, 1956); Wickham's comment in Early Medieval Italy, 147; Kreutz, Before the Normans, 30; Huguette Taviani-Carozzi relies upon it heavily in La principauté lombarde de Salerne, defending its reliability in I, 91 and 98, and arguing for identity of the author as the abbot Radoald, 90.

896.<sup>97</sup> Bloch, in his recent work, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, concludes that despite the importance of the monastery and its frequent mention in the literature, "a satisfactory history of the abbey does not yet exist."<sup>98</sup>

Excavations, most recently during the 1940s following Second World War bombing and destruction of the abbey, have helped fill in some of Monte Cassino's early history.<sup>99</sup> It has been determined that from the early Iron Age the site was a religious center which soon became a major military acropolis, taken over by the Romans when they developed the city of Casinum following its submission in 312 B.C. The site's military advantages continued throughout the Middle Ages; it was on the most accessible road to the South (other

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<sup>97</sup> Loss of records from the two disasters and the resulting difficulty in reconstructing sources of the abbey's wealth are discussed in Armand O. Citarella and Henry M. Willard, The Ninth-Century Treasure of Monte Cassino in the Context of Political and Economic Developments in South Italy, *Miscellanea Cassinese* 50 (Montecassino, 1983), 75-76; they note in contrast existing lists for other monasteries, including Bobbio, San Vincenzo al Volturno, and especially Farfa.

<sup>98</sup> Bloch, Monte Cassino, I, n. 1, 3; he apologizes for the rather misleading name of his own work, which instead of being a history of the monastery, is intended as a study of Monte Cassino's possessions in the Middle Ages, inspired by the discovery of previously-concealed panels of the basilica's bronze doors; panels were revealed after the Allied bombardment in 1944 dating to abbot Desiderius (1058-1087) and bearing Byzantine images of patriarchs and apostles, along with inscriptions of names of Monte Cassino's possessions; I, x-xi, xvi.

<sup>99</sup> An official guidebook for the abbey notes that reconstruction and decoration after the 1944 bombing took more than ten years and were exclusively financed by the Italian State; The Abbey of Montecassino (undated), no pagination.

passes had to go through the Pontine marshes or Abruzzi mountains) but stood isolated from the mountain chain to the north and was in a position to dominate the whole valley of the Liri river.<sup>100</sup>

Lombards under the Beneventan duke Zotto destroyed the monastery at Monte Cassino in a night raid, probably around 589 (Paul the Deacon vaguely indicates that it occurred near the time of Ariulf's death in 601). Paul the Deacon, basing his account on that of Gregory I in the Dialogues, relates Benedict's prophecy of the monastery's destruction and God's guarantee of his monks' safety.<sup>101</sup> The monks escaped, reportedly fleeing to Rome and taking the original copy of Benedict's Regula, along with other treasures. Leo reports that the monks were granted permission by the pope to establish a monastery near the Lateran, remaining there until they reoccupied Monte Cassino one hundred twenty or thirty years later.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Leccisotti, Montecassino, 13-15, speculating that Benedict, discovering the site in its abandoned state in the sixth century, could possibly have used one of the towers for a residence; the Abbey guidebook gives the founding date as 529 and says that the "heathen cult" was still practiced on the mountain site in the temple of Apollo and in a nearby holy grove with adjoining sacrifice area; see Appendix for a topographical profile of Monte Cassino's site and an illustration of its modern appearance.

<sup>101</sup> Hist. Lang., IV, xvii; estimates for the date of the attack range from about 582 to 590.

<sup>102</sup> Leo, Chronica, I, ch. 2; in Hoffman's edition, the preferred manuscript source names Gregory I (590-604) as pope when the monks arrived, while the others name Pelagius II (579-590), 20-21.



During the unoccupied period, according to Paul the Deacon, Franks from Le Mans and Orleans stole Benedict's bones and those of his sister, Scolastica, carrying them off to their countries and placing them in monasteries built in their honor; Paul implies, however, that some relics remained--"that venerable mouth, sweeter than all nectar, and the eyes beholding ever heavenly things, and the other members too have remained to us, although decayed."<sup>103</sup> Whatever actually took place, a letter from around 750 survives in which Pope Zacharias wrote to the Frankish clergy requesting that they involve themselves in an effort to have Benedict's remains restored to Monte Cassino.<sup>104</sup>

Papal initiative helped to launch the restoration of Monte Cassino, which began around 717 under Petronax, a native of Brescia, who while in Rome on a pilgrimage to the

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<sup>103</sup> Hist. Lang., VI, ii, and n. 3, 251; a long controversy resulted from this passage, with French and Italian Benedictine monks disputing the genuineness of St. Benedict's relics; Leccisotti hedges on just what happened to Benedict's remains, noting that many false rumors circulated about relics during the eighth and ninth centuries; he also implies that there was some basis for continued veneration at Monte Cassino and says that abbot Optatus (750-760) sent monks with relics of Saint Benedict to Leno, near Brescia, at king Desiderius's request; Montecassino, 29-31; this traffic in Benedict's relics continued into recent times, for Leccisotti reports that "il radio sinistro" (left radius or forearm) of Benedict was returned from Brescia to the monastery in 1878.

<sup>104</sup> Zacharias's letter is found in MGH, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, I, 467-68: ". . . et pro corpore beati Benedicti, quod furtive ablatum est a suo sepulchro, ut ei restituatur;" the pope was involved in efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Pippin and his brother Carloman, now a monk at Monte Cassino.

Holy Land was given the assignment by pope Gregory II. Paul says that when restoration began, Petronax was helped by "certain honest men who were already living there before." During his tenure as the sixth abbot (c. 717-750), Petronax expanded Benedict's small church honoring Saint Martin, adding a shrine honoring the virgin Mary and an altar to the martyrs Faustinus and Jovita (Iovitae).<sup>105</sup>

Papal assistance continued under Zacharias (741-752), who according to Paul the Deacon sent books and also returned Benedict's Regula to the abbey. (Zacharias's biographer notes that Carloman, after his abdication as mayor of the palace in Francia, was made a monk at the pope's hands and soon entered Monte Cassino; perhaps he took these gifts with him.)<sup>106</sup>

Reoccupation of Monte Cassino around 729 opened a new period of prosperity for the monastery in which its fame grew and it assumed a place of prominence in political and economic affairs. The restored institution enjoyed the friendship and protection of Benevento's dukes, as well as

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<sup>105</sup> Rebuilding under Petronax is reported in Hist. Lang., VI, xl; Leo, Chronica, ch. 4, dates the restoration from 720, and notes that a number of monks from the Lateran monastery in Rome accompanied Petronax; an obscure reference to a "Ciprianus" preceding Petronax is found in Chronica Langobardorum seu monachorum de monasterio Sanctissimi Benedicti, MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 480, but with no "abbas" preceding his name.

<sup>106</sup> Liber pontificalis, Life of Zacharias (741-752), in Davis, Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes, ch. 21, 46-47.

continued papal support, which gave the community a high degree of independence and freedom from lay interference. Noted visitors and refugees during the period included the Saxon monk Willibald, who visited the abbey in 740 at the end of a ten-year pilgrimage and was then sent by Gregory III as companion to Boniface in his mission to Germany; Sturmi, founder of Fulda and of German monasticism, sent by Boniface to observe the monastic system at Monte Cassino; Adalard, the uncle of Charlemagne, a refugee from Corbie, and Saint Anselmo, founder of Nonantola.<sup>107</sup> Paul the Deacon evidently spent two periods at Monte Cassino, the first after leaving Arichis II's court at Benevento following destruction of the Lombard kingdom in 774, and again after three years spent at the Carolingian court (from about 782-785), during which later period he apparently wrote his History of the Lombards and remained until his death.

Monte Cassino attracted royalty as well during this period; Carloman became a monk at the hands of pope Zacharias after abdicating as mayor of the palace in 747, entering the monastery but later returning to Francia on a diplomatic mission, where he died. The Lombard king Ratchis also abdicated and was made a monk by Zacharias in 749; he

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<sup>107</sup> Leccisotti, Montecassino, 32-33; Adalard was a guardian to Charlemagne's son, Pippin, after he was crowned king of Italy in 781; after Pippin's death, Adalard supervised his young son, Bernard, who later rebelled against his uncle, Louis the Pious, and was blinded.

left the abbey at the death of his brother, Aistulf, returning to the throne briefly, perhaps as regent, before Desiderius assumed the crown.<sup>108</sup>

Reliance upon Monte Cassino for diplomatic and political assistance is evident beginning at this time and continues into Erchempert's period under the Carolingians, with important consequences for the Lombard South. In 752, during a complex period of rivalry between the papacy and the Lombard king over Byzantine territories, Pope Stephen sent the abbots of both Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno to Aistulf to demand a treaty of peace.<sup>109</sup> Charlemagne stopped at the abbey in 787 during one of the four trips he made to Italy after his conquest of the Lombard kingdom.<sup>110</sup> Abbot Bassacius was sent in 852 (along with Jacob, abbot of San Vincenzo al Volturno) to Louis II to seek his help against the Muslims, and Louis made the monastery his base in 866 while recruiting regional support

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<sup>108</sup> Liber Pontificalis, Life of Zacharias in Davis, Lives: Carloman, ch. 21, 46-47, and Ratchis, ch. 23, 47-48; Leo's Chronica discuss Carloman and Ratchis, I, ch's 7 and 8; Ratchis's burial in a jeweled coffin at Monte Cassino is noted in Pauli Contin. Casinensis, ch. 4, MGH, Scr. rer. lang., 198-200.

<sup>109</sup> Discussion is found in the Liber Pontificalis, Life of Stephen II in Davis, Lives, ch. 6, 55-56 and n's 15 and 16, naming the abbots as Azzo for San Vincenzo and Optatus for Monte Cassino; the abbots' mission is also reported in Pauli continuatio cassinense, ch. 4, MGH SSrL, 199.

<sup>110</sup> Leo, Chronica, ch. 12; Erchempert reports Charlemagne's campaign against Arichis II and the Beneventans, which occurred during this trip to the South, Hist., ch. 2

in his campaign against them. The empress Engelberga later came to the abbey to meet with the pope and Louis's brother, Lothar, to arrange a reconciliation concerning Lothar's divorce.<sup>111</sup>

Carolingian penetration in the South coincided with a period of growing prosperity in the region, from which Monte Cassino also benefited. Citarella and Willard, in their recent study of Monte Cassino's wealth in the ninth century, think that economic recovery began soon after armed conflict between the Lombards and the Byzantines ended and was especially notable in the reign of Aistulf (749-756). They see this trend continuing after the Carolingian conquest and in fact helped by it through entry into the larger trading area of Francia.<sup>112</sup>

Economic recovery in Southern Italy was especially stimulated by strong economic ties between the South and the Islamic Maghreb, which included densely populated settlements of North Africa such as Tunis, Kairouan, and

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<sup>111</sup> Erchempert records Bassacius's mission to Louis II in ch. 20; Lothar and Engelberga's visit at Monte Cassino is recorded in Annals of St-Bertin for the year 869; Les annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast, ed. l'Abbé C. Dehaisnes (Paris, 1871, reprinted Geneva: Librairie Slatkine, 1980), 185-88.

<sup>112</sup> Citarella and Willard, The Ninth Century Treasure, 63-64 and n. 90, citing Robert Lopez for early recognition of economic recovery in his 1951 article, "Still another Renaissance?" in which he drew attention to evidence of tenth-century increases in population and food production; American Historical Review 57 (1951): 1-21.

Sfax. The Islamic settlements had great need for southern commodities, including hemp, linen cloth, produce, and especially lumber for shipbuilding.<sup>113</sup> By Erchempert's period, this profitable trade (especially at Naples and Amalfi) caused reluctance on the part of the maritime states to help Pope John VIII (872-882) in his war against the Muslims, despite papal demands for cooperation by Christians and threat of excommunication.<sup>114</sup>

Documents of the Cairo Geniza provide evidence of strong economic ties (likely beginning in the ninth century) between Christian and Islamic societies from Mediterranean trade, especially involving Amalfi.<sup>115</sup> Evidence also exists for various embassies and trade agreements between Byzantine traders in Sicily and Islamic rulers of North Africa. Pope Leo III reported to Charlemagne the text of an

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<sup>113</sup> Ninth-Century Treasure, 64; Kreutz also argues for the importance of Islamic trade in the region, particularly in the rise of Amalfi, and examines evidence that the various Muslims entering the region were "not known merely as raiders;" Before the Normans, 49-51.

<sup>114</sup> Erchempert says that the people at Salerno, Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi "made peace" with the Muslims and refused to help the pope and the Byzantines against them, resulting in excommunication of the city of Naples and beheading of twenty-five Neapolitan soldiers; Hist., ch. 39.

<sup>115</sup> Cairo Geniza records, dating from the late tenth century on, indicate close relations between Tunisia and Muslim Sicily on one hand and seaports of Southern Italy such as Amalfi and Salerno on the other; evidence of trade in textiles, dyeing materials, and medical preparations and plants (among other commodities) is found in Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, trans. with introduction and notes by S. D. Gotein (Princeton University Press, 1973).

agreement between the Sicilian governor Gregory and the Aghlabid Emir of Kairouan, ensuring freedom of movement for Muslims traveling to Sicily and back to Africa (implying the same guarantee for Byzantines). A ninth-century report also exists of a judicial opinion concerning profits shared among Islamic privateers from Ifriqiya, making unlawful the capture of Christian ships known to trade with the Muslims.<sup>116</sup>

Monte Cassino shared in the prosperity of the South, with the abbey enjoying ever-increasing wealth following the restoration of the 720s. The Lombards' conversion to orthodox catholicism (which was generally complete by the end of the seventh century) had increased the possibilities for patronage and participation in the church; a law of King Liutprand of 713 made it legal for a Lombard to donate property to the church "on behalf of his soul," and Monte Cassino received many such gifts.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Citarella and Willard, Ninth Century Treasure, 64-67 and n's 93-98; n. 98 cites Pope Leo III's letter, MGH, Epist., V, 98; n. 96, for the Islamic judicial opinion, cites Muhammad al-Talibi (M. Talbi), Extracts of the work of Ibn Sahnūn, in "Intérêt des oeuvres juridiques traitant de la guerre pour l'historien des armées médiévales ifrikiennes," Cahiers de Tunisie 4 (1956): 289-93.

<sup>117</sup> Leges Lang., Liutprand, On the disposal of property by the ill on behalf of their souls, which provides for upholding of such decisions thereafter; in Drew, Lombard Laws, 146; Paul the Deacon reports that three noble brothers--Paldo, Taso, and Tato--built a monastery honoring "the blessed martyr Vincent" near the source of the Volturno river, recorded in the writings of the abbot, Autpert; Hist. Lang., VI, xl; Autpert's account, Autperti Vita Paldonis, Tatonis et Tasonis Vulturvensium, found in MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 546-554. Leo

Monte Cassino's accumulation of wealth added to the monastery's prestige, which was already growing from the traditions associated with Benedict's authority and sanctity. While it is difficult to evaluate the respective roles played in the abbey's success by sheer economic power and by veneration for Saint Benedict, one senses that the abbots used the saint's reputation for holiness effectively to court very tangible benefits for the "Terra Sancti Benedicti."

Leo's narrative in the Chronica includes numerous accounts of property given to Monte Cassino. According to Leo, Gisulf II, nephew of king Liutprand and duke of Benevento from 742 to about 752, confirmed all of Monte Cassino's possessions and boundaries, and his wife Scauniperga renovated a pagan temple at Cassino and dedicated it as a church honoring Saint Peter. The couple also helped to found a monastery for girls honoring the virgin Mary at Cingla, where the Beneventan "sculdais" (with the startling name of Saracenus) had earlier built and dedicated a church. Gisulf granted land to the monastery at a site known as Gentiana, in Liburia, and also began the

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adds that the brothers were nobles of Benevento, and that monks from the community helped Petronax in the restoration of Monte Cassino; Leo, Chronica, ch. 4; after Ratchis abdicated and entered Monte Cassino, his wife Tasia and daughter Ratruda (with the help of abbot Petronax) built with their own funds and generously endowed a monastery for girls, not far from Monte Cassino, at Plumbariola (Piumarola); Leo, Chronica, ch. 8.



construction of the church of Santa Sophia at Benevento, which Arichis II completed.<sup>118</sup>

Arichis II (758-774) initiated actions which reflected Benevento's importance as a political and cultural focus of the region and involved monks of Monte Cassino in liturgical compositions. He extended the cult of martyrs (begun in 760 with the interment of relics of twelve Apulian martyrs in the church of Santa Sofia) by acquiring the relics of St. Mercurius, a Byzantine military saint, placing them in a special altar at the church. (Leo notes that in addition to the twelve martyrs and St. Mercurius, thirty-one other holy bodies were brought from around Italy.)<sup>119</sup>

Arichis donated more sections of land in Liburia to the monastery, in the area known as Gentiana (or Casa Gentiana),

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<sup>118</sup> Leo, Chronica, ch's 5 and 6, and Hoffman's notes, pp. 25-30; Erchempert gives Arichis sole credit for building the "templum Domino opulentissimum ac decentissimum" honoring Santa Sophia, Hist., ch. 3; a continuator of the anonymous Monte Cassino chronicler adds that Scauniperga also established an altar with icons and other enrichments at the church honoring the virgin Mary and the archangel Michael; the writer says that Gisulf was so touched "by divine love" after visiting Benedict's tomb that he not only confirmed all of the monastery's properties in the mountains and plains around, but also evidently provided for protection of the inhabitants against possible attacks by enemies and took measures for enforcing obedience of agricultural workers to the monks "as much at time of sowing as at harvest time;" Chron. Sancti Ben. Cas., ch. 21, 480.

<sup>119</sup> Leo, Chronica, ch. 9; Wattenbach notes a total of forty-four holy bodies mentioned in a report of 1119, n. 51, 586; Alfano I, monk at Montecassino and later bishop of Salerno, is noted for composing a "Metrum heroicum" honoring the twelve brothers; discussion is found in Thomas Forrest Kelly, The Beneventan Chant (Cambridge University Press, 1989), n. 38, 11.

where duke Gisulf had earlier granted land to abbot Petronax. Arichis's son Grimoald was said to have donated all of his estates (domnicália) with servants and "ancilli" located at Casa Gentiana; the evidence for such donations is of interest in connection with Erchempert's reports of battles between Capua and Naples in Liburia, for the monastery's holdings in the region could well have been affected by these conflicts. Leo writes that the charters granting the Gentiana lands were among the documents destroyed at Teano in the fire of 896, but that an elderly priest and grammaticus, Maio, told abbot John (who had called a meeting of the brothers to attempt to verify property granted to the community) that he himself had read the three charters of donation "which were in the letter case of the lord abbot Angelarius."<sup>120</sup> The abundance of such grants (with the economic and political power they brought) helped to assure for the Terra Sancti Benedicti the status of a virtual enclave within the duchy of Benevento.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Maio's recollections of the grants are found in ch. 48; Arichis's grant of "partes maiores in territoria Gentianae," followed by Grimoald's donation of "domnicália," ch. 14; duke Hildeprand of Spoleto gives estates and an olive grove; the Beneventan gastald Wacco gives his son Wachipertum with numerous properties, all listed; a Beneventan noble, Leo, grants property to abbot Tomichi (764-771), providing that although his slaves and "ancillas" are to be freed, they must render service to the monastery four times a month; ch's 10, 14.

<sup>121</sup> A map of the abbey's territory is included in the Appendix.

Extensive building projects undertaken by the abbots of Monte Cassino give further evidence of the abbey's prosperity. Petronax expanded and adorned Benedict's small church of St. Martin (noted earlier); abbot Poto (771-777) then began expansion of the monastery at the base of the mountain by building a small church in honor of St. Benedict, later replaced by another church (present during Leo's time), which was dedicated to St. Germanus. (The sources refer thereafter to "sursum"--high up, upwards--and "deorsum"--downwards--to indicate the two locations of the monastery's buildings.) Abbot Poto also built a church at the base of a second mountain to honor the archangel Michael, "in the pleasant place where the monastery's olive grove is now," according to Leo, adorning it with handsome paintings, decorations, and verses all around.<sup>122</sup>

Abbot Theodemar (777/8-796) added a cloister and some small dwellings near the church of the archangel Michael built by his predecessor (the beginnings of a residential monastery "deorsum"), and he also carried on with his own projects, building a temple in honor of the virgin Mary near Poto's church of St. Benedict, at a site above the source of the Liri river, embellished with columns, towers, and

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<sup>122</sup> Poto's projects are described in Leo, Chronica, ch. 10 and Wattenbach's n. 58, 588.

figures of apostles and martyrs.<sup>123</sup>

The most ambitious projects were undertaken by abbot Gisulf (796-817), who according to Leo was related to the dukes of Benevento. He found the mountaintop dwelling inadequate for the brothers and expanded the monastery's structures below, which became the major priory of Monte Cassino and its administrative center; most of the monks lived there, as did the abbots generally.

Gisulf commissioned one of the brothers, Garioald, to drain and fill an area near Poto's small church of St. Benedict; he then replaced the church with a large basilica honoring the Saviour (San Salvatore). Leo gives the dimensions of the basilica, describing the marble columns and pedestals, the tiles and pavements, and the four altars dedicated respectively to the Saviour, to St. Benedict, to St. Martin, and to the archangel Michael. (It was by the altar of St. Martin in San Salvatore that abbot Bertharius was reported to have been slain by the Muslims in 883.)

Above (sursum), Gisulf built additional dwellings and rebuilt the church where Benedict's remains were kept, providing a silver canopy over the altar. Gisulf also built two other churches away from Monte Cassino, one honoring "Holy Angels" (sancti Angeli) the other dedicated to St.

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<sup>123</sup> Theodemar's activities are recorded in Leo, Chronica, ch. 10-11; Wattenbach places Theodemar's church at the junction of the Liri and Rapido rivers.

Apollinarius (Sant'Apollinare).<sup>124</sup>

Citarella and Willard identify three major sources for Monte Cassino's accumulated wealth, the first being gifts from every level of society and including a jewelled gold crown given by the Beneventan prince Sico (later listed among the items taken by prince Siconolf to finance his war against Radelchis).<sup>125</sup>

Another source of wealth was income from surplus products of the abbey's vast lands; an indication of the monastery's participation in such commerce comes from Leo's report of property given to the monastery including ports along the Garigliano and the Volturno rivers; in addition, there is evidence that a market place existed at the foot of the mountain near the monastery of San Salvatore.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Gisulf's activities are recorded in Leo, Chronica, ch's 17-18; Citarella and Willard note that the basilica of San Salvatore survived the fire of 883 and stood in its original form until 1694, when a Baroque successor replaced it; Ninth Century Treasure, 37-45.

<sup>125</sup> Discussion is found in Ninth Century Treasure, 74-76; the crown ("coronam Siconis genitorisque de auro ac gemmis smaragdinis ornatam") is listed by the anonymous chronicler along with other costly items carried away around 844; Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 7, 473.

<sup>126</sup> Leo's Chronica, I, ch. 14, lists the "portum quoque Traiectensem et Vulturensem" (the former near the mouth of the Garigliano, Wattenbach says in n. 73, 590); abbot John I (914-934) attempted to reconfirm these grants some years after the fire at Teano, ch. 48; monks celebrating the Feast Day of Easter Tuesday gathered "non longe ab apso negotiantium foro" according to the Ordo Casinensis II, discussed in Ninth Century Treasure, n. 121, 74 and 111-15; full text of consuetudo or customary in n. 189, 111-12, cited from T. Leccisotti, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum I (Siegburg, 1963), 119-121.

Leases were the third source of the monastery's wealth; the first such concession recorded was in the year 817, where Leo says that abbot Gisulf drew up a lease (libellum) for certain men of Termoli, leasing all of the abbey's possessions there for fourteen solidi. Leo indicates that the abbots continued leasing property all along, although the next lease he records occurs during the abbacy of Bertharius (856-883) for a payment of five hundred solidi and yearly rent of seven "mancusos," plus another of unspecified terms.<sup>127</sup>

The year of abbot Gisulf's death, 817, was a fateful one for Benevento, for it was also the year Benevento's prince Grimoald IV was murdered, setting in motion a series of events which ended the unity of the principality. Sico, one of the instigators of the crime, seized the rule, resuming hostilities against Naples and establishing his son Sicard as co-ruler. Sicard's policies of apparent harshness toward the Beneventans and exile of his own brother would lead to civil war.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Leases are found in Leo, Chronica, I, ch. 18, noting right to half pannage as part of the lease ("et medietate totius pastionis") and ch. 34, where Bertharius leases lands to a count Guido at "Sancto Angelo de Varriano;" other leases found in ch. 51 under abbot Leo (899-914); ch. 54, John I (914-934); ch. 56, Adelpert (934-943); and ch. 60, Maielpotus (943/44-948).

<sup>128</sup> Erchempert records the murder of Grimoald in ch. 8; Sico's renewal of war with Naples, ch. 10; Sicard's exile of his brother and other persecutions which in Erchempert's view constitute a "perjury" sealing Benevento's doom, ch. 12.

Monte Cassino came in for a share of Sicard's persecution when the prince evidently tried to extort money from the elderly abbot Deusdedit (828-834); when this failed, Sicard seized and imprisoned the abbot, resulting in his death. Sicard also exiled and later ordered the murder of Alfano, an abbot and then bishop of Benevento.<sup>129</sup>

With the onset of Benevento's political problems, grand programs of expansion declined at the abbey, with none recorded for abbot Gisulf's immediate successors. Bassacius (837-856) is remembered primarily for his scholarly activities (to be discussed later) and for renewal of all of the churches' altars sursum and deorsum. During his abbacy, Siconolf removed a considerable amount of the monastery's treasure to pay his Islamic mercenaries in the war against Radelchis; Bassacius later went at the request of the region's nobles to seek Louis II's help against the Muslims.<sup>130</sup>

The building program of Bassacius's successor,

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<sup>129</sup> Leo agrees with Erchempert's scathing description of Sicard's character, calling him in Chronica, I, ch. 22, "homo nequissimus et omnibus vitiis carnalibus circumsessus, ac super omnia avarissimus;" Alfano's murder is found in Erchempert's Hist., ch. 12, with further embellishment in the Chron. Salern., ch. 69.

<sup>130</sup> A list of treasure removed by Siconolf "pro Spanis" (Spanish Muslims) is found in Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 7, 473; mission to Louis and efforts in the churches, ch. 12, 474; renewing of altars, ch. 22, 481 (also in Leo, Chronica, I, 31); the chronicler also relates how, during Bassacius's abbacy (837-856), a heavy rainfall and flooding of the river miraculously saves Monte Cassino from attack by Muslims, ch. 6, 472.

Bertharius (856-883), was evidently undertaken for the purpose of defense against continuing threats of attack by Muslims. He began construction of a civitas or community at the base of the mountain around the monastery of San Salvatore, which he called Eulogimenópolis (later renamed San Germano); he also fortified the monastery above (sursum) with strong walls and towers "in the style of a castellum."<sup>131</sup>

Throughout the period of prosperity in Southern Italy, from the middle of the eighth century, Frankish influence had been subtly growing through the monasteries, particularly Monte Cassino, Farfa, Nonantola, and San Vincenzo al Volturno. After the Carolingian conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774, Monte Cassino became a virtual "imperial abbey," visited and patronized by Carolingian rulers, and the abbey occupied a strategic position in Frankish attempts to establish rule in the South.

Charlemagne visited Monte Cassino in 787 after he had reached a settlement with Arichis II of Benevento (in which, according to Erchempert, he took two of Arichis's children

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<sup>131</sup> "...totum undique monasterium quod sursum erat, muris ac turribus firmissimis in modum castelli munivit;" building of "civitas" Eulogimenópolis below and fortifications of upper monastery are found in Leo, Chronica, I, 33; Citarella and Willard think Bertharius's "civitas" below also probably included defenses around the cloister and monastery complex; Ninth Century Treasure, 78 and n. 132.



as hostages along with treasure.)<sup>132</sup> During this visit, Charlemagne requested a copy of Benedict's Regula along with measures for bread and wine and information concerning the norms and usages of monastic life. He also granted the abbey immunity from lay interference in its territory, prohibiting attempts by lay officials to extract fees or tolls, and he confirmed the monastery's properties and dependencies.<sup>133</sup>

The Regula of Benedict had been promoted for use in Frankish monasteries under the reforms of Pippin in the 740s and had been the basis of a Rule for Canons drafted by bishop Chrodegana at Metz a decade later. Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious continued the effort to extend its use; at a synod at Aachen in 817, Louis promulgated the Capitulare monasticum prepared by Benedict of Aniane, a text codifying usages and customs based upon the Regula, and missi were dispatched to see that the reforms were carried

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<sup>132</sup> Erchempert's account in Hist., Ch. 2; in the Annales regni Francorum for 787, Charlemagne is reported to have taken only one of Arichis's children, his son Grimoald.

<sup>133</sup> Immunity was given also to S. Vincenzo; MGH, Diplomatum Karolinorum I, nos. 157, 158, pp. 212-13, name the abbey's dependencies and stipulate "ut nullus iudex [publicus] ibidem ad causas audiendum vel . . . fideiussores tollendum aut homines ipsius monasterii distringendum sive ullas consuetudines novas imponendum nec ullas redhibitiones publicas requirendum ullo umquam tempore ingredi nec exactare penitus presumat." Leo also records Charlemagne's confirmation of all of the monastery's possessions, noting that he was the first king to enact such a measure; Chronica, ch. 12; no original of Charlemagne's charter was found at the abbey later, raising suspicions that Leo's account was based upon spurious documents.

out throughout the empire; the Regula was also instituted by Benedict of Aniane in more than twenty monasteries in Aquitaine.<sup>134</sup>

Frankish influence was also felt at Monte Cassino as a result of Charlemagne's concern for liturgical reform and for adoption of Gregorian chant as a uniform standard. Petronax, who before coming to Monte Cassino had belonged to a suffragan diocese of Milan before the Frankish reform, brought with him to Monte Cassino a rite much influenced by the Ambrosian rite, which was characterized by Greek usages. The Ambrosian influence contributed to development of what has come to be called the Beneventan chant (sometimes called "Ambrosian chant"); its use in the region began to decline after the eighth century in favor of the Roman Gregorian chant, as the city of Benevento weakened in power while the importance of the Roman church rose in Lombard areas. Paul the Deacon may also have been the intermediary of Gregorian liturgy from the Carolingians to the Lombard South through his evident role in assembling a liturgical homiliary and his connection with a mass-book requested by Charlemagne from Pope Hadrian.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> The Synod of 817 is recorded by Leo, Chronica, ch. 16; the Benedicti Regula, ed. Rudolphus Hanslik, is found in Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1960), 75.

<sup>135</sup> Suppression of Beneventan ("Ambrosian") chant in favor of the Roman Gregorian chant continued after Carolingian times under Pope Stephen IX, who on a visit to Monte Cassino in 1058 strictly forbade the singing of "Ambrosianus cantus," writing

Louis II continued his great-grandfather Charlemagne's use of the abbey for imperial purposes. Crowned as Emperor in 850 and King of Italy in 855 at the death of his father Lothar, Louis spent most of his time in Italy, where he died in 875. He made four trips to the South, the first with Lothar in 846 (in response to the Islamic attack on Rome), during which he succeeded between 847 and 849 in driving the Muslims from Benevento, executing Massar and the principal leaders. He also had some role in the peace treaty and Divisio between Radelchis and Siconolf which placed Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo directly under imperial protection (to be discussed shortly). Erchempert says Louis was present "with all of the Lombards" on the occasion of the agreement, as does Leo.<sup>136</sup>

In future trips to the South Louis again attempted to organize resistance to the Muslims, first in about 852, then in the early 860s, and finally during the long campaign beginning in 866 to recapture Bari, when he stayed at Monte

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of which had continued to be preserved by a few conservative scribes; discussion is found in Kelly, Beneventan Chant, 22-25 and 30-40; Leccisotti argues for granting greater importance to Ambrosian influence in the restored monastery rather than the usual view that Frankish and Anglo-Saxon usages prevailed; Montecassino, 31, n. 7, 46, and 341.

<sup>136</sup> Erchempert's account is found in ch. 19; Leo's in Chronica, ch. 29: "Moxque imperator, convocatis omnibus Langobardis..."; the Chronicon Salernitanum gives more credit to Guido of Spoleto, who (according to the author) was handsomely rewarded for his efforts by his relative, Siconolf; ch. 84 states that terms of agreement will have to be confirmed by Louis ("before Louis's gaze"): "quatenus ante optutum Lodoguici regi talia firmarentur."

Cassino during the abbacy of Bertharius (856-883), said to be a Frank himself.<sup>137</sup> (Bertharius intervened with Louis II on behalf of the besieged city of Isernia, where Louis was pursuing the rebellious Frankish counts Lambert and Ildepert; Bertharius, a relative of Isernia's gastald, succeeded in winning clemency from Louis, and an agreement was made whereby the city came under Frankish rule.<sup>138</sup>)

Louis attempted during his visit of 866 to raise support among the Lombard rulers for his campaign against the Muslims. The anonymous cassinese chronicler gives details concerning Louis's orders for raising an army, including requirements for eligibility and places for convening the host; each soldier was to have clothing for one year, and food to last until new produce was available in Italy. During this visit, Louis and his wife Engelberga also participated with the abbot Bertharius at the dedication of an oratory in honor of Bassacius at the church of Santa Sophia in Benevento.<sup>139</sup> According to Erchempert, when Louis realized that no help against the Muslims was forthcoming from the Capuans, he besieged and destroyed

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<sup>137</sup> Bertharius's Frankish origin is noted in Cilento, Le origini, 109, 120.

<sup>138</sup> The report is found in Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 13, 475.

<sup>139</sup> Account of the "Constitutio promotionis exercitus observationis partibus Beneventi" is found in ch. 3; in ch. 4, Louis and Engelberga are welcomed by abbot Bertharius with torches, instruments, and the monks' praises ("lampadibus ac tymiamatibus necnon et fratrum laudibus..."); Chron. S. Ben. Cas., 469-71.

their city soon after.<sup>140</sup>

Lombard resentment over growth of Frankish power in the region precipitated a plot against Louis, resulting in what Wickham calls "the near-impossible: an alliance against him of the Beneventans, Salernitans, Neapolitans and Spoletans;" later sources add the Muslim leader, Sawdân. Louis and his wife and daughter were seized and imprisoned at Benevento in August 871 by prince Adelchis; although Louis was soon freed (Erchempert implies within forty days), the Western world was shocked at his capture.<sup>141</sup>

Despite Erchempert's apparent admiration for Louis as "savior" of the land and consternation at his capture, he sees two mistakes on Louis's part which explain why God allowed the emperor to be treated so shamefully; the emperor had not shown proper respect for Pope Nicholas and had

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<sup>140</sup> Erchempert's account is in ch. 32, where he notes the role played by Lambert, appointed earlier by Louis as count of Spoleto, in punishing the uncooperative Capuans.

<sup>141</sup> Erchempert indicates that God's punishment and Louis's release both occurred within forty days; Hist., ch. 34; Gay cites Hincmar's Annales for 871 concerning intervention by bishop Aio, Adelchis's brother, in saving Louis's life; L'Italie méridionale, I, 102-03 and n. 1, 103; Andreas of Bergamo says that Franks were scattered throughout the Beneventan principality in castelli or civitates and were evidently unaware of Beneventan hostility but rallied around after Louis's capture to ensure his release: "Erant enim Franci separati per castellas vel civitates, fidentes absque ullo terrore, credentes fide Beneventanorum. . . Sed Deus... fideles suos ad eum venire fecit. Caelestis timor super Beneventanos inruit; vix illorum fuit, ut pacifice potuissent illos dimitterent. . .;" he says the imprisonment lasted 35 days, from Aug. 18 to Sept. 17; Andreae Bergomatis Historia, MGH, Scr. rer. lang., ch. 16, 228-29.

allowed trampling of sacred vessels in a scuffle at Rome; Louis had later failed to execute the Muslim leader, Sawdân, when he captured him at Bari. Erchempert appears to consider Franks in general rather unprincipled and greedy for profit, noting that Guido, the Frankish count of Spoleto, in his eagerness for payment first gives help to Radelgis rather than his own brother-in-law Siconolf, a sign for Erchempert that he shares the Frankish lust for money to which Franks are all enslaved.<sup>142</sup>

After Louis II's death in 875, the Carolingians seem to have given up on efforts to control the South of Italy. A rapid increase in Byzantine strength took place under Basil I (867-886), who sent a large army to Southern Italy in 880. The large ground force sent by Basil recaptured Taranto, opening the way for reconquest of Apulia and Calabria by the Byzantines.<sup>143</sup>

Monte Cassino's position seems to have been to cooperate with whichever imperial power held sway at the moment and seek its protection. After Carolingian protection ended and Byzantine forces began to reclaim much of the South, the community sought and received Eastern

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<sup>142</sup> Guido's greed and opportunism are noted in ch. 17; Louis's capture, ch. 34, where Erchempert attributes Frankish persecution of the Beneventans to the devil's inspiration; reasons why God allowed Louis's punishment, ch. 37.

<sup>143</sup> Gay follows the Byzantine historian Basil for this period; L'Italie méridionale, I, 112-14; Erchempert notes the death of Basil I and arrangement for the succession of his sons, Hist. ch. 52.

imperial support. Soon after the Byzantines captured Benevento in 891 under the leadership of the imperial protospatarius Symbaticius, abbot Ragemprand went to Benevento and obtained a privilege from him and confirmation of the monastery's domains.<sup>144</sup>

The Byzantine emperor assumed the Frankish emperor's previous role as protector of both large Benedictine monasteries in Campania, a policy of benevolence which continued for the duration of imperial influence in Italy, well into the period of Norman occupation.<sup>145</sup>

Political instability in the South contributed to the frequency of Islamic invasions, which had an immeasurable effect upon the region. Raids were reported in Sardinia and

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<sup>144</sup> Leo notes passage of three hundred thirty years since Zotto became the first Beneventan duke, Chronica, I, 49; Byzantine confirmation of domains discussed in Kelly, Beneventan Chant, 35, noting efforts of the monastery of Santa Sofia to avoid falling under Monte Cassino's control; Bloch adds that Symbaticius's "praeceptum" was drafted "in palatio Beneventi" in June, 892; Monte Cassino, I, 6, and n. 2, citing Reg. Petri Diac., no. 136; S. Vincenzo al Volturno received a privilege from Symbaticius's successor, Georgius; n. 3, citing Chronicon Vulturnense.

<sup>145</sup> Discussion is found in Bloch, Monte Cassino, I, 7; in 911, Leo VI personally granted a privilege to the abbey (the first eastern emperor to do so, according to Bloch), while the monks were still at Teano, granting exemption from all taxes and contributions. Abbot Aligern (948-985), after restoring the community to Monte Cassino, obtained from the Byzantine governor Marianus Argyrus a "sigillum" in 956, authorizing the abbot "to travel in the entire province of Langobardia and to reclaim all former possessions of the monastery;" I, 9 and n. 1, citing Reg. Petri Diac. no. 149 for privilege granted in 911 by Leo VI; 10 and n. 2, citing Reg. Petri Diac. no. 153 for sigillum.

Corsica from 806 to 810, and Sicily was invaded in 827; the first Islamic mercenary troops used in the South (evidently from Palermo) were hired by duke Andreas of Naples in 832 to help in his fight against the Lombard troops of Prince Sico (817-833) and his son Sicard (833-839).<sup>146</sup>

The availability of Islamic mercenaries had grown as Muslim rule expanded under the Umayyad caliphate (661-750) into northern Africa, Spain, and the southern region of Francia. Under the increasingly decentralized Abbasid caliphate (750-1055), mercenary forces and independent groups of invaders operated as virtually free and uncontrolled agents in Italy, far from their respective emirates and from the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad.<sup>147</sup> Erchempert notes different points of origin for "Agareni" hired by each side in the Lombard civil war; Radelchis recruits mostly African or Cretan Muslims ("Agarenos Libicos"), Siconolf Spanish ones ("Hismaelitas Hispanos").<sup>148</sup>

Hiring of Islamic mercenaries gave the advantage to the

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<sup>146</sup> The Annales regni Francorum record Islamic invasions of Corsica and Sardinia from 806 to 810; Erchempert reports a strong force of Muslims from "Babylonia" and Africa pouring into Sicily and capturing Palermo in 832, Hist., ch. 11; duke Andreas of Naples hires a "validissimam Saracenorum hostem;" Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum, MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 398-436, ch. 57, 431.

<sup>147</sup> Under the Abbasid caliphate, Morocco was autonomous after 788, Tunisia after 800, Egypt after 868; Persia was divided among local dynasties in the ninth century.

<sup>148</sup> Erchempert's report is in ch. 17.



Neapolitans in their war with Benevento, so that within a year of the Muslims' arrival, Sicard was forced to seek peace; the resulting five-year treaty, the Sicardi Pactio, was signed at Naples in 836.<sup>149</sup> The Pactio provided for return of slaves, fugitives, and criminals, along with a special prohibition against the selling of Lombards overseas. Although Monte Cassino is not mentioned specifically in the Pactio, provision is made for safe passage of merchants and protection of commerce along the rivers within Capua's territory, including the Volturno, an indication of conditions prevailing during the long period of hostilities. In view of the monastery's evidently abundant properties in the region, including ownership of river ports, the abbey's interests were very likely affected by these clauses.<sup>150</sup>

The civil war between Radelchis and Siconolf brought about an increase in Islamic pillaging and destruction in the South; mercenaries hired by both sides, along with other Muslim groups arriving in the region, broke away into raiding groups, established encampments along the Volturno and Garigliano rivers, and expanded into areas of Apulia and

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<sup>149</sup> The Sicardi Principis Pactio cum Neapolitanis in Quingennium Facta is found in MGH, Leges IV, 216-221.

<sup>150</sup> Provisions 5 and 13 of the Pactio concern merchants and river commerce; no. 5 establishes a fine of twenty-four solidi for illegally taking a pledge or security (pignus) from a merchant.

Calabria.<sup>151</sup> In 841 Islamic raiders made their first attempt against Bari, and by 847 the first Muslim emirate had been established there by Kalfûn.<sup>152</sup>

Muslims had meanwhile gained control of the Adriatic after destroying a large Venetian naval force in 841; Islamic forces thus threatened Italy along both the eastern and western coasts and had penetrated to much of the interior as well by the middle of the ninth century.<sup>153</sup> Bands of Muslim raiders reached Monte Cassino twice; the first time (in the early 860s), the abbot paid Sawdân three thousand gold pieces not to destroy the monastery.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Erchempert reports Radelchis's mercenaries living at Benevento under their leader Massari and causing great destruction inside and outside the city, Hist., ch. 18; the principality is again ravaged by Sawdân's forces around 860, ch. 29; Salerno is besieged after Louis's captivity in 871, ch. 35; Muslims seize Taranto and spread through Apulia, ch. 38. The Frankish monk Bernard, while sailing from Taranto for the Holy Land in the mid-860s, records Beneventan Christians packed on ships owned by Muslims, destined for African ports; Bernard's account is found in Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi in Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier (1879); reprint Osnabrück, 1966; Erchempert says that Greeks had procured Christians for sale to Muslims and had also kept some for themselves; Hist., ch. 81.

<sup>152</sup> Musca, L'emirato, discusses the three emirates of Bari; the first under Kalfûn (847-852), 31-45; second emirate under Mufarrag (853-856), 47-58, and final emirate under Sawdân, 59-74, with siege and taking of Bari by Frankish forces (866-871) 87-110; Bari's capture by Muslims is recorded in Erchempert, Hist., ch. 16.

<sup>153</sup> See the map in the Appendix for areas of Italy experiencing heavy incursions of Muslims.

<sup>154</sup> Erchempert says that earlier the same Muslims led by "Saugdan" (Sawdân) partially destroyed the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, and the abbot there had to pay the same

In 883, Muslims living near Naples and allied with that city ravaged the region around Benevento, destroying churches and monasteries throughout the area (San Vincenzo had been destroyed in 881). They then carried out a two-part attack on Monte Cassino, destroying and burning the upper monastery in September "where the most holy body of the blessed father Benedict was buried," according to Leo; in October, the monastery below was attacked and burned; many perished, including abbot Bertharius, who was reportedly killed with a sword while near the altar of Martin in the church of San Salvatore. Leo says that the invaders, loaded down with booty, returned to the encampment on the Garigliano (Erchempert reported they were from the Naples area).<sup>155</sup>

Monte Cassino had more than Muslims to fear, as did other monasteries and churches with accumulated property and treasure, for their wealth attracted rulers in need of

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amount so that some of the buildings would be spared; Hist., ch. 29.

<sup>155</sup> The attack of 883 is reported by Erchempert in ch. 44, with details in Leo's Chronica, ch. 44, adding that the monks who escaped took everything they could seize--furnishings, treasure, money--fleeing with Angelarius, their "praepositus," to Teano; Angelarius then became abbot, serving from 883 to 889. The chronicle of Ahimaaz, written by a Jewish chronicler of Oria in the eleventh century, offers a more positive view of the Islamic presence in the South; the writer, recording activities of his forebears in the Jewish intellectual center at Oria during Erchempert's period, indicates that Muslims made contributions to the rich culture of Apulia; his writing reflects Jewish tradition, Byzantine literary practice (as use of acrostic hymns), and Arabian rimed prose; The Chronicle of Ahimaaz, trans. Marcus Salzman (New York: AMS Press, 1966).

payment for mercenary troops. Raids were made by both Radelchis and Siconolf upon the treasuries of religious institutions, Radelchis at St. Mary of Benevento, and Siconolf at St. Mary of Salerno and later at Monte Cassino (around 844) as noted earlier.<sup>156</sup> The treasure taken from Monte Cassino included silver and gold vessels decorated with precious stones and emeralds, one hundred thirty pounds' worth of golden vases, three hundred sixty-five pounds in silver and thirty thousand golden solidi; Siconolf even had the golden crown of his father Sico removed. "Nor was this of benefit to him, for he killed his own soul," the chronicler says.<sup>157</sup>

Leo notes that the treasure taken included gifts given by several Carolingian rulers (the mayors of the palace Carloman and Pippin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious). Leo

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<sup>156</sup> Discussion is found in Ninth Century Treasure, 78-79 and n. 137, citing Chronicon Salernitanum, ch. 81, which says that Siconolf got the idea of taking church treasure from hearing that Radelchis did so; Siconolf then sent the Salernitan treasure to entice back from Taranto the same Muslims recently released by Radelchis.

<sup>157</sup> The report is found in Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 7, 473; the author goes on to say that when Massar, the Muslim leader living at Benevento who was pillaging the countryside, came to Monte Cassino, he was so moved by a divine force that when one of his dogs seized a monastery goose, he himself ran at it with a whip and forced it to expel the bird from its mouth; Massar also ordered the monastery gates closed so that the Muslims could not enter; in Ninth Century Treasure, Citarella and Willard argue that chronicle accounts of great wealth in the region are not exaggerated, and that abundant gold circulated from trade with the Muslims, 72-73; discussion of Arab coins widely used in the area, such as the solidos Siculos decem milia (Arab dinars) and tari (quarter dinars), 79-80.

also says that removal of treasure was sometimes accompanied by promises to repay the monastery; in one case, since other means for repayment were lacking, Monte Cassino was instead given the monastery of the Holy Nazarius in Campania, with all of its properties.<sup>158</sup>

The war between Radelchis and Siconolf ended with agreement to divide the principality of Benevento, and the resulting Divisio (signed around 849) designates the boundaries for each share, with Siconolf's territory evidently the more advantageous.<sup>159</sup> The monasteries of Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo were excluded from the arrangement and placed under the authority and protection of the emperor Lothar and his son Louis. The terms of the allotment proved critical for Monte Cassino following Louis II's death in 875, for with the ending of effective Carolingian protection, the abbey fell under the rule of Capua, whose feuding family controlled much of the surrounding region.

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<sup>158</sup> Leo's report is found in Chronica I, 26; he implies that Siconolf took his father's crown to buy support for his cause at Rome; Erchempert says that Guido, after receiving "quingaginta milia nummis aureis," then advises Siconolf to go to Rome, pay out some gold, and swear oaths (presumably of loyalty to Louis); Hist., ch. 18.

<sup>159</sup> Text of the document, Radelqisi et Siginulfi Divisio Ducatus Beneventani, is found in MGH, Leges IV, 221-25; Siconolf received the better portion; Benevento's less promising share included areas often claimed by the papacy. See the Appendix for map indicating respective territories of Benevento and Salerno resulting from Divisio ("Spartizione") of c. 849.

Capua had been given to Salerno in the Divisio but became virtually autonomous under Landulf I (815-843) and his successors, who came to control a vast county including the greater part of the Campanian plain and the valleys of the Volturno and Garigliano rivers.<sup>160</sup> The county also included the powerful monasteries of Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno.<sup>161</sup>

Following Islamic destruction of Monte Cassino in 883, the exiled monks fled to Teano, the most highly defended city of the Capuan signoria, where they occupied a recently constructed monastery dedicated to St. Benedict.<sup>162</sup> Erchempert indicates that these refugee monks soon had direct experience of the turmoil around them; Erchempert and other members of the community suffered two incidents of robbery at the hands of Greeks, and monks were possibly involved in the battle fought on Capua's city walls against

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<sup>160</sup> Cilento's discussion of Capuan territory is found in Le origini, 93, 96.

<sup>161</sup> The Chronicon Vulturnense notes that the monks of San Vincenzo fled to Capua and built a new monastery there after Muslims destroyed their monastery in 881; Chronicon Vulturnense, ed. Vincenzo Federici, 3 vols., (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1925).

<sup>162</sup> Leo records the flight from Monte Cassino in ch. 44; Erchempert's father was reported to be a noble of Teano, ch. 47; Landulf I, count of Capua (815-843), had left the rulership of Teano to his son Landonolf, according to Erchempert, Hist., ch. 21.

the Neapolitan forces of Athanasius in 885.<sup>163</sup>

Some of Monte Cassino's properties in Campania were likely threatened following the death of Capua's bishop-ruler Landulf in 879, when family conflict provided the opportunity for Naples to expand in the region. Athanasius brought in Greek troops under Chasanus to help the Neapolitan force and succeeded in regaining control of all of Liburia, evidently with serious consequences for Capua. Erchempert reports that Pandonolf (Teano's ruler who had ambitions to seize Capua) allied with the Greeks to pillage the surrounding area, even carrying off the animals from Capua. The city as a result was forced to submit to the Frankish duke Guido of Spoleto in order to replenish its food and provisions.<sup>164</sup>

Monte Cassino's fortunes were further affected by Atenolf's victory over rival family members in 887, when he seized power at Capua and took the title of "count." Perhaps driven by the need to repay the sworn followers who had helped him achieve success, Atenolf seized all of the Capuan property of the monks (even Erchempert's "cella"); the abbot Angelarius then sent Erchempert to Rome for papal

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<sup>163</sup> Robberies of 881 and 886 are found in Erchempert's Hist., ch's 44 and 61; the battle on Capua's walls, with efforts by four courageous youths (quatuor impubes), is reported in ch. 57.

<sup>164</sup> Erchempert's account is found in ch. 60; Monte Cassino's numerous properties in Campania (such as the "Casa Gentiana" mentioned in Leo's Chron., ch. 14) could well have been among the pillaged lands.

support.<sup>165</sup> The monks were already rebuilding their ruined monastery, an effort begun under abbot Angelarius in August, 886; Erchempert was apparently involved, for he is returning from there to Capua when he is captured and robbed by "Greeks."<sup>166</sup>

Erchempert's History and Leo's Chronica give an indication of Monte Cassino's considerable involvement in ninth century political affairs and the widespread insecurity of the times. The abbey was sustained in part by its participation in the monastic culture and intellectual life which flourished in monasteries of the time. The important tasks remain of seeing how Erchempert's role as a chronicler offers another view of his world, and of examining the chronicle tradition to which his History belongs.

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<sup>165</sup> Atenolf's hiring of sworn followers (probably late in 886) and victory over rivals for rulership of Capua in January, 887, are reported in ch's 64-65; confiscation of the monks' property and Erchempert's mission to Rome, in ch. 69.

<sup>166</sup> The incident is reported in ch. 61.



### Chapter 3: Erchempert's History and the Chronicle Tradition

Erchempert's role as a chronicler-historian connects him to another aspect of life in Southern Italy, the world of culture and letters, especially as it flourished in monasteries. His History reflects the education he received at Monte Cassino as well as the compelling political and social concerns shared by other chroniclers of the time, whose accounts can be seen as continuations of the Christian chronicle tradition.<sup>167</sup>

Chronicles developed during late antiquity, when conditions called for a simplified style in the writing of history; disruption of schools lessened the opportunity for a classical, rhetorical education, and there was a need for epitomes and handbooks, and for briefer overviews of history. This was a departure from the classical idea of history; the Greeks and Romans had generally regarded the writing of history as a literary activity, part of the art of rhetoric. Classical histories were meant to be read aloud, and one of the last practitioners of this style was Ammianus Marcellinus, in the 390s; after this, public taste tended toward the brief, annalistic style of historical

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<sup>167</sup> Erchempert calls his work an "ystoriola" ("little history"), but it can be viewed as both history and chronicle, sharing qualities of both.

writing.<sup>168</sup>

In the sense that Erchempert's History shares the form and objectives of a chronicle, it joins a sizable body of work produced since the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>169</sup> Eusebius (c. 260-340), bishop of Caesarea, is generally credited with developing the chronicle form of historical writing into what has come to be called the Christian world chronicle, building upon earlier chronographic writing (particularly as developed in Alexandria) to establish Hebrew-Christian history within a framework of other ancient cultures. Eusebius based his work upon the conviction that the Hebrew-Christian nation was more ancient than Egypt or Greece, and he synchronized events of the ancient world around the year of Abraham, making use of Olympiad dating from 776 B.C.<sup>170</sup>

The result was a framework in which local histories as

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<sup>168</sup> Discussion is found in Brian Croke and Alanna M. Emmett, "Historiography in Late Antiquity: An Overview," in History and Historians, ed. Croke and Emmett (Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1983), 1-12; discussion, 1-3; in the same book, E. A. Judge considers the tensions between old and new historiography, with Christianity bringing far-reaching social changes which Eusebius and Ammianus were not in a position to understand; discussion in "Christian Innovation and its Contemporary Observers," 13-29.

<sup>169</sup> Modern editing has given Erchempert's History the look of a chronicle; the Monumenta edition is divided into numbered chapters with the addition of dates when known, a strikingly different appearance from the version found in the medieval Codex Vaticanus 5001 (dating to c. 1300), in which the work has not been so divided.

<sup>170</sup> Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo, ed. Alfred Schoene, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1975-76).

well as those of empires could be fitted into a universal time-frame, where historians could incorporate the events of their time within the Christian view of history as the progression of God's unfolding plan.<sup>171</sup> Chroniclers of the ninth century such as Erchempert faced the task of finding explanations in Christian terms for the political upheavals of their period, an anguishing experience in the case of Frankish writers as they watched Charlemagne's empire being torn apart, and for Erchempert as well, whose distress is evident as he concludes that the Beneventan Lombards have forfeited God's benevolent protection.<sup>172</sup>

Eusebius's chronicle itself became "a basic working document" for reviewing "the full story of God's people on earth." It was translated into Latin and continued by Jerome (c. 345-419) to the year 378, and later by others such as Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390-c. 455), who synthesized the work of Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius and continued with what is evidently his own

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<sup>171</sup> Eusebius's work, by illustrating the multiplicity of peoples with their own particular histories, also influenced over time the development of other genres, such as "national" histories; discussion in Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon (Princeton University Press, 1988), 5-9.

<sup>172</sup> Erchempert says in ch. 12 that Sico's misdeeds resulted in a "great perjury" in Benevento, which called forth God's anger for the first time "for the destruction of their land."

experience up to the year 455.<sup>173</sup>

Other chroniclers continued Prosper, including Victor Tunnunensis, a North African bishop writing while in exile at Constantinople, whose work runs from 444 to around 567.<sup>174</sup> Victor's work was in turn continued by John of Biclar, a Visigothic bishop of Spain, who carried his narration to the year 590.<sup>175</sup> One can visualize a virtual brigade of chroniclers, passing the tradition to the next and then the next, each modifying the form to suit the needs of the time.<sup>176</sup>

While early western chroniclers were usually

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<sup>173</sup> Eusebii Pamphili Chronici canones. Latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (London, 1923); S. Prosperi Aquitani Chronicum Integrum, beginning with Adam and continuing through the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian; found in Migne, Patrologia Latina, v. 51, 535-608.

<sup>174</sup> Victoris Episcopi Tonnennensis Chronica, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, Chronica Minora, Saec. IV, V, VI, VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), XI, 184-206, who reckons 5766 years from Adam to the first year of the Emperor Justinian.

<sup>175</sup> Iohannis Abbatis Biclarenensis Chronica, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH, AA, XI, 211-220.

<sup>176</sup> For the purposes of this study, Erchempert's work as a chronicler and continuator of Paul the Deacon is considered as fitting within one of the many branches of Christian chronicle writing developing from the work of Eusebius, a simplified approach but one acknowledging other ways of studying chronicles, such as those considering them as expressions of "national" or ethnic history; Donald Bullough discusses this approach in "Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum," in The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900, ed. by Christopher Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman, Exeter Studies in History No. 12 (University of Exeter, 1986), 85-105.

continuator, those in the East tended to recopy or modify the totality of world history, usually going back to Abraham, and after the fifth century, to Adam. Chronicles following this style, known as Chronica mundi, are found in the West as well; Freculph, bishop of Lisieux, who lived during the first half of the ninth century, used the form in his two-volume chronicle, which begins with Adam (ab exordio mundi) and ends with the Lombards' arrival in Italy and the conversion to the orthodox faith of the Visigothic Spanish prince, Hermenigild.<sup>177</sup> The Annals of Saint-Vaast begin at creation and continue to the year 400, incorporating material from Eusebius, Isidore, and Bede; they then continue with events from 874 to 899.<sup>178</sup>

The five hundred years between Eusebius and Erchempert brought significant change to the writing of chronicles. By the seventh century, the Christian world chronicle had assumed a new style, not without some difficulty and a tension in matters of style and content, as the classical historical tradition was adapted to Christian culture. The

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<sup>177</sup> Freculphi Episcopi Lexoviensis Chronicorum Tomi Duo, found in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 106, 918-1256; details about the life of Freculph are found in Chester F. Natunewicz, "Freculphus of Lisieux, His Chronicle and a Mont St. Michel Manuscript," in Sacris Erudiri 17 (1966): 88-134.

<sup>178</sup> Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast, L'Abbé C. Dehaisnes (Paris, 1871; reprinted Geneva: Librairie Slatkine, 1980); in English, The Annals of St-Bertin, trans. Janet L. Nelson, Ninth-Century Histories, Vol. 1 (Manchester University Press, 1991).

result was that classical elements took on a Christian appearance, an example being "Fate" or "Fortuna," which could now be seen as sin and punishment.<sup>179</sup>

The appearance of classical material in Western chronicles reflects a process which had been taking place for several centuries as Latin culture was extended in areas of Germanic settlement. Writers who have surveyed medieval education and literature in its broadest terms, such as M. L. W. Laistner and Henry Osborn Taylor, have concluded that a certain period was required for Germanic peoples to absorb the heritage of antiquity as it was transmitted through the schools.<sup>180</sup> A fusion of cultures was thus taking place at the same time that classical learning was being adapted to a Christian society.

Education in the West involved literacy as it arrived in previously oral cultures.<sup>181</sup> Laistner and Taylor's traditional view remains usable, that of societies exposed

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<sup>179</sup> Erchempert's work reflects these changes, as in ch. 13, where Sicard's murder is seen as the result of sins of his father, and ch's 34 and 37, where Biblical precedents are used to explain Louis II's captivity at Benevento.

<sup>180</sup> M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900, 2nd ed., 1957 (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1931); Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1927).

<sup>181</sup> Carlo M. Cipolla introduces an interesting perspective to the subject of literacy by pointing out that the medieval world had "vast possibilities of education through the eyes and ears, which have slowly faded out of modern life;" Literacy and Development in the West (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1969), 13.

over time to Latinization and to acquaintance with the literature of antiquity. Another viewpoint is that of Brian Stock, who prefers a "functional" approach rather than a linear or evolutionary one, whereby "textuality" emerged in societies where literacy developed along with continued oral traditions, resulting in mutual familiarity with groups of texts among scholars, which allowed evidence to be presented without the texts being actually present.<sup>182</sup>

Literacy was the foundation upon which the chronicle tradition developed, but the writing of chronicles also depended upon the attainment of a certain level of education and the availability of books; by the sixth century these were found chiefly in monasteries, whose schools had assumed the task of education as public schools declined during the Germanic invasions.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Brian Stock, The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Princeton University Press, 1983), with discussion 7-13; related material is found in The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge University Press, 1990), including discussions of bilingualism in countries with vernacular languages unrelated to Latin (Ireland, Anglo-Saxon England); also McKitterick's The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge University Press, 1989), where she considers transmission of the written word "(T)he most remarkable legacy of Roman civilization to Frankish Gaul;" 2.

<sup>183</sup> A summary of the purposes of ancient Roman education is found in Henri-Irénée Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, 2nd ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1950), 323-24; comparison of Byzantine continuations of classic learning, which he thought remained "obstinately faithful to the tradition of ancient humanism," and its opposite, the system in monastic schools, which he found hostile to humanism, is found in the Epilogue, 448-54.

Italy, in comparison with other areas of the West, is noted as maintaining a higher degree of literacy in general, along with an enduring sense of its classical heritage.<sup>184</sup> Although Italy before the thirteenth century lagged far behind other countries in many cultural aspects, it had a "narrow but persistent tradition" of its own from ancient Roman times in lay education, legal customs, study of grammar and rhetoric, and continual exposure to Byzantine influences.<sup>185</sup>

In contrast to lay schools which may have survived, monastery schools had as their primary purpose the promotion of literacy sufficient for reading and understanding scripture, corresponding to the educational plan worked out by the church Fathers, in which the Bible was thought to contain all knowledge useful to man, both sacred and profane.<sup>186</sup> Lectio divina became the basis for monastic

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<sup>184</sup> Taylor concluded that humanism ("a city child") was never lacking in Italy; he cites Gerbert's purchase of books in Italy, Wipo's report of youth (tota juventus) being sent to sweat in the schools, and Otto of Freising's similar view of differences between Italy and Germany in his day; Mediaeval Mind, I, 249-50 and n's 1-3.

<sup>185</sup> These conclusions are drawn by Paul Oskar Kristeller in his examination of the roots of Renaissance thought; discussion is found in Renaissance Thought and Its Sources, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 86-87.

<sup>186</sup> A good summary of lectio divina as developed from concepts found in Alexandrian scholarship, and which provided the basis for monastic education, is found in Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 1952 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 26-30.



education, but the results of this educational system far surpassed its original purpose, judging by the sheer volume and variety of writings produced in the monasteries.

Benedict (whose Rule was widely used following its promotion under the Carolingians) saw his monastery as a "school for the service of the Lord," where the purpose of monastic life was salvation through union with God, involving withdrawal from the world, silence, prayer, and meditation. Benedict had specified that his monks should be literate and that regular periods should be devoted to reading, but there is no indication that he intended his program as the means for achieving the degree of scholarly activity which later flourished in monasteries living under his Rule.<sup>187</sup> (The prohibition of private ownership of books or writing materials was perhaps meant to balance spiritual with intellectual pursuits among the educated members of the community.)<sup>188</sup>

The late Jean Leclercq, who was a Benedictine monk at

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<sup>187</sup> Regula sancti Benedicti, ch. 4, "Instruments of good works," with enjoyment of holy reading as no. 55; ch. 38 specifies monks are to hear uplifting readings during meals; ch. 48 sets aside daily periods for reading in addition to manual labor, and requires each monk to read a book from the library every Lenten season.

<sup>188</sup> Herbert Bloch proposes this theory in "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages," in La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, xix (Spoleto, 1972), 563-605; discussion 564-65 and n's 2-4; Bloch speculates that the first congregation of Monte Cassino "must have consisted largely of educated men" who would wish to perpetuate intellectual pursuits in the community.

the Abbey of Clervaux in Luxemburg, attempted to explain how monastic schools came to further both the search for salvation and a spirit of scholarly inquiry.<sup>189</sup> He saw two currents giving life to monastic civilization in the West, the literary heritage of Greco-Roman antiquity and "the eschatological longing for God" which motivated a monk's religious experience, both streams coming together in the liturgy, which for him included all activities involved with prayer.

In Leclercq's analysis, methods used by the monks both for the study of Latin grammar and the absorption of scriptural material worked together in a unique way in the monastic environment. Study of the Latin language (grammatica), undertaken as preparation for reading of sacred writings, involved word-by-word analysis of classical texts, pagan works which provided young monks with models for expression in the Latin language and introduced them to a wide range of classical material. Reading of scripture--lectio divina--called for the monk's efforts to absorb scriptural and patristic material as part of his search for experience of God; this was accomplished through an

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<sup>189</sup> Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1961). While perhaps overly idealistic in his enthusiasm for monastic culture, he offers valuable insight into the processes of monastic education and literary creativity; he also provides a contrasting view to that of Marrou, who criticized monastery schools as hostile to humanism with their emphasis on spiritual and ascetic preoccupations; discussed in Histoire de l'Éducation, 450.

"accoustical reading," pronouncing and hearing the "voices of the pages," and through repetition--ruminatio and meditatio--devices through which reminiscence took place, one word or phrase suggesting another, and then another.<sup>190</sup>

Leclercq concluded that the two processes--grammatical study and absorption of scriptural passages--could work upon the monk in such a way that pursuit of letters might take place in a spirit very close to that of the monk's quest for the experience of God.<sup>191</sup>

However one views the literary education stressed in monastery schools, there is ample evidence that it was successful in stimulating scholarship in many areas. At Monte Cassino during Erchempert's time, the abbot Bertharius (856-883) was considered especially well educated, composing tracts, sermons, verses (including many for the empress Engelberga and friends), and a work dealing with questions from both Old and New Testaments. He also wrote books on grammar, as well as two medical books, which Leo notes as especially useful for their collection of numerous remedies.<sup>192</sup> Scholarship continued to flourish at Monte

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<sup>190</sup> Description of this "active" reading with simultaneous memorization and meditation found in Love of Learning, 18-19, 90-91.

<sup>191</sup> Leclercq discusses the problem of finding a balance between studies and the spiritual quest, a difficulty he felt was met in every generation and every country; Love of Learning, 28-29.

<sup>192</sup> Leo discusses Bertharius's achievements in Chronica, I, ch. 33.

Cassino in the following two centuries, and works were produced there in such areas as music, poetry, theology, and medicine.<sup>193</sup>

The cassinese tradition of scholarship owed much to the preservation and copying of ancient texts, a movement which had been fostered several centuries earlier in another monastery of Southern Italy. Cassiodorus (c. 480-575), who with Boethius is regarded as a crucial transmitter of classical learning to the Middle Ages, undertook the project at the monastery he founded at Scyllacium, in what was then Bruttium. (Cassiodorus's role in preservation is justifiably celebrated, yet his activity at Vivarium has also been viewed negatively as marking the early beginnings of a shift from secular to monastic control of higher education.<sup>194</sup>)

Monte Cassino contributed significantly over time to the task of copying and was responsible for what Reynolds and Wilson call the "most dramatic single event in the history of Latin scholarship in the eleventh century;" the sole surviving copy of Tacitus's Histories was found among a series of Beneventan manuscripts copied during the time of

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<sup>193</sup> Leccisotti discusses scholarly achievements at the abbey in Montecassino, 218-31, where he also notes revival of Ars dictamine and its effect in stimulating legal and notarial revitalization beginning in the eleventh century.

<sup>194</sup> Discussion is found in L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 73.

abbot Desiderius (1058-1087).<sup>195</sup>

A book-hand was developed from traditional Italian cursive, which came to be known as Beneventan script, mistakenly called "Lombard" or "Cassinese" until recent times. This script flourished in scriptoria throughout Lombard regions of Southern Italy (and in Dalmatia as well) for five hundred years, from the end of the eighth century until the thirteenth. It was finally suppressed by Carolingian minuscule, which had been extended to northern Italy but not to the South during the Carolingian reforms.<sup>196</sup>

Specific details about Erchempert's education remain unknown, but Monte Cassino likely made use of traditional programs of Roman education based upon the trivium (grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy), which were to some extent followed in monasteries along with instruction in Christian doctrine. Cassiodorus's Institutiones, which were introductions to divine and secular works directed toward students in

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<sup>195</sup> Reynolds and Wilson note the discovery in Scribes and Scholars, 96.

<sup>196</sup> Discussion is found in E. A. Loew, The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 30-46, where he notes that even the Norman invasion and repeated imperial decrees (such as those of Frederick II regarding notarial products, in 1220 and 1231) could not entirely suppress usage of the script.

monastery schools, were widely circulated.<sup>197</sup>

Grammatical treatises and school-books included Porphyrio on Horace, Donatus on Terence, Servius on Virgil and Festus, and especially Aelius Donatus, author of Ars minor and major; Martianus Capella's De Nuptius Philologiae et Mercurii was also used, an allegorical narrative in which nuptial gifts are given at a wedding by seven maidservants representing the seven liberal arts. Excerpts from writers of antiquity, including Virgil, Pliny, Ovid, and Lucan were used to illustrate grammatical usage.<sup>198</sup>

Monte Cassino evidently had its own sources for teaching of grammar. Paul the Deacon is credited with developing his own Ars Donati, considered better than the Ars minor of Donatus for elementary instruction.<sup>199</sup> The abbot Hildericus (who was abbot briefly in 834) wrote an Ars grammaticale in a classic Latin foreign to the influence of

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<sup>197</sup> Cassidori Senatoris Institutiones, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937); the work consists of two books, Institutionum liber I (also known as Institutiones divinarum litterarum or lectionum) and Institutionum liber II (also called Institutiones Saecularum litterarum or humanarum rerum).

<sup>198</sup> Martianus Capella, ed. Adolfus Dick, amended Jean Préaux (Stuttgart: 1978).

<sup>199</sup> Bloch notes that a copy of Paul's work is thought to have been destined for Charlemagne's court library; discussion is found in "Monte Cassino's Teachers," 568 and n. 14, citing an entry in Lorsch catalog III: "Item (evid. Ars grammatica) - Pauli diaconi ad regem;" a modern edition is Ars Donati quam Paulus Diaconus exposuit, ed. A. Amelli (Monte Cassino, 1899).

the Carolingian renewal inspired by Alcuin.<sup>200</sup>

The Etymologiae of Isidore, bishop of Seville from 599/600 to 636, was also widely used and was of value in restoring scraps of classical poetry and pagan learning culled from writings of the church Fathers.<sup>201</sup>

Monte Cassino's studies, while evidently based on the trivium, also included the study of Greek classics. Greek was still widely used in Southern Italy from close association with the Byzantines; an indication that there was interest in Greek scholarship during Erchempert's time is found in the work of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, papal librarian under Hadrian II and John VIII, who translated the works of the church historians Nicephorus, Syncellus, and Theophanes from Greek to Latin.<sup>202</sup>

Greek was used at Monte Cassino, where from the time of Petronax the "divine praises" had been recited in both Latin and Greek. Paul the Deacon knew Greek, teaching it at Charlemagne's court to clerics who were to accompany Charlemagne's daughter Ratrude to Constantinople; poetry was

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<sup>200</sup> Discussion is found in Leccisotti, Montecassino, 221; Hildericus, the seventeenth abbot of Monte Cassino, served only seventeen days, according to Leo, Chronica, I, ch. 22.

<sup>201</sup> Isidore's Etymologiarum libri XX are found in Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 82; Bloch notes a late eighth-century copy of the Etymologiae from a manuscript of Cava, which he thinks was likely written at Monte Cassino, possibly at Paul the Deacon's urging; "Monte Cassino's Teachers," 570-71.

<sup>202</sup> Known as the Chronographia Tripartita, the Latin version made available in the West some knowledge of the history of the Eastern Roman Empire to the year 813.

written in both languages, and abbot Bertharius gave his new city the Greek name of Eulogimenópolis.<sup>203</sup>

Scriptural studies, forming the other (and supposedly more valued) area of literate activity in monastery schools, involved techniques which also shaped the chronicler's thought. Lectio divina took on a variety of emphases over time; during the monastic centuries (fifth through ninth), it could be simply "holy reading" at monasteries disinclined toward scholarship, or it could be the object of scholarly activity, with attention either to the "letter" of Scripture, often involving linguistics, or to the "spirit" or "hidden meaning" of the text.<sup>204</sup> Exegesis by means of allegorical interpretation had been developed by the church Fathers, especially Origen, so that Old Testament material could be understood as foreshadowing the Gospels; over time, reading of the Bible came to resemble a process of viewing something through a lattice, with the text as a physical surface (or "letter") through which the reader might glimpse truth (or "spirit").<sup>205</sup> In a sense, chroniclers applied a

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<sup>203</sup> Discussion is found in Leccisotti, Montecassino, 218-19; Kelly's investigations into early Beneventan chant have also produced evidence of ongoing Byzantine influence and use of Greek; discussion is found in Beneventan Chant, 203-18, noting transliteration in Latin characters and variations in spelling, which perhaps indicate absence of a written Greek tradition in the manuscripts and reliance on oral memory, 217.

<sup>204</sup> Discussion is found in Smalley, Study of the Bible, xii-xiii, 26-29.

<sup>205</sup> Smalley discusses the process of exegesis in Study of the Bible, 2-8.



similar process in their writing of history, looking beyond the "letter" of worldly events to find the "spirit" of scriptural meaning behind them.

Putting together the program of monastic education with Leclercq's theory about the power of reminiscence, it is possible to see how medieval chronicles could be composed of dense layers of classical and patristic material, filled with scattered fragments of scriptural texts or passages from grammatical compilations which the monkish writer thought suitable for his purposes. Ulla Westerbergh, in her analysis of the Chronicon Salernitanum, has found allusions to considerable amounts of Biblical and classical material for one of the principal chronicles of Southern Italy.<sup>206</sup>

Westerbergh notes that much can be learned about the Salernitan author's education from his chronicle, through identification of authors whose work he uses, and from his "slavish copying" of respected sources, such as the grammatical authors and the Liber Pontificalis; from the latter she feels "we can get an idea of his attitude towards a linguistically superior source."<sup>207</sup> Westerbergh has identified, for instance, portions of chapter 70 which the writer based on two sermons of Augustine; she has also found

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<sup>206</sup> Westerbergh's analysis is found in "The Chronicler's Literary Education and Historical Sources," in her critical edition of the Chronicon Salernitanum, 187-222; her discussion is of great interest in considering Erchempert's work.

<sup>207</sup> Westerbergh's discussion is found in Chronicon Salernitanum, 188-190 and n. 2, 190.

a quotation from Gregory the Great, likely a reminiscence of the Moralia, which the chronicler represents as a quotation of Paul the Deacon. Elsewhere she discusses material taken from the Vita Barbati, Ovid, Virgil, Cato, Isidore, Lucan, and Bede's grammatical handbook.<sup>208</sup> She thinks that the author knew the Greek alphabet, for he used Greek characters for basileus several times in quoting a letter of Louis II to the Byzantine emperor, Basil.<sup>209</sup> Erchempert's History was the author's most-used historical source, but he expanded Erchempert's factual material with other sources (including documents) and with abundant anecdotal material and direct speech, producing an often vivid and graphic narrative but one of questionable reliability.<sup>210</sup>

Similar analyses of Erchempert's History have revealed a number of sources possibly used by the author. The History contains a number of Biblical citations which have been identified by Pertz and Waitz in their Monumenta edition; they also note a passage in the first chapter which is similar to one from the Dialogues written by Gregory I,

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<sup>208</sup> Westerbergh discusses these passages in Chron. Sal., 189-96.

<sup>209</sup> Westerbergh's discussion is found in Chron. Sal., 196, with Greek characters found on 109, 111, and 115.

<sup>210</sup> Westerbergh's views, found in Chron. Sal., 215, are quite different from those of Taviani-Carozzi, noted earlier, who thinks that the Chronicon's anecdotal material should be given equal standing with more factual texts.

whose work was widely read during the Middle Ages.<sup>211</sup>

For classical allusions, Giorgio Falco finds in Erchempert's work passages which reflect "vague reminiscences of school," literary allusions probably derived less from direct sources than from glossaries, commentaries, exegetical writings, or excerpts from De nuptiis of Martianus Capella. Falco also thinks that Erchempert's use of words derived from Greek suggests that he was perhaps dependent on oral rather than written sources.<sup>212</sup> Erchempert's poem beginning "Free and noble was I born" was apparently based upon a passage in Orosius's Seven Books against the Pagans, and the vision Erchempert attributes to the mother of bishop Landulf, when she dreams of her unborn child as a fiery comet who would destroy the land, is modeled on the vision of Hecuba, who while pregnant foresaw the destruction of Troy.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Erchempert's last sentence in ch. 1 resembles a passage in the first book of Gregory's Dialogues: "I shall not hesitate to narrate what I have learned from worthy men. In this I am only following the consecrated practice of the Scriptures, where it is perfectly clear that Mark and Luke composed their Gospels, not as eyewitnesses, but on the word of others."

<sup>212</sup> Falco's discussion is found in "Erchemperto," 270-274, in Albori d'Europa; pagine di storia medievale (Rome: Le Edizioni del Lavoro, 1947).

<sup>213</sup> Discussion is found in Falco, "Erchemperto," 274; Orosius's passage, "Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem" comes from v. 383, and bears resemblance to Erchempert's poem in ch. 6; Seneca's Hecuba fits Falco's theory better than Euripides's; widow of the slain king Priam, she views Troy's smoking ruins, which "I Hecuba--pregnant--foresaw, and spoke / My fear, vain prophet before Cassandra;" Seneca's

Cilento thinks that Erchempert was familiar with Livy and with Sallust, and that his portrait of bishop Landulf is modeled on Sallust's portrayal of Catilina in Bellum Catilinae, a resemblance mentioned by several other writers, including Falco.<sup>214</sup> Cilento also notes that a phrase Erchempert uses in his first chapter ("ex intimo corde ducens alta suspiria") resembles closely one in Virgil's Aeneid and in Ovid's Metamorphoses, variations of which appeared in a number of medieval texts, perhaps transmitted in florilegia (collections of favorite sayings of authors).<sup>215</sup>

Erchempert's style of writing is characterized by Falco as alternating between usages learned at school and a primitive and personal originality, which was often

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Troades, intro. and tr. A. J. Boyle (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1994), Act One, 43, 45; Boyle sees Seneca's Hecuba as a symbol of human suffering, "the mater dolorosa," who takes upon herself much of the responsibility for Troy's fall; 27.

<sup>214</sup> Discussion is found in Cilento, Italia meridionale, 54; Sallust's portrait of Lucius Catilina has much in common with Erchempert's of bishop Landulf in ch. 31: Catiline, "scion of a noble family. . . but an evil and depraved nature" who from youth up reveled in civil wars and political dissension, with a mind "reckless, cunning, treacherous, capable of any form of pretense and concealment" in order to gain control of the government; he drew young men into his circle, and corrupted them; The War with Catiline, in Sallust, trans. J. C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1921), 8-11.

<sup>215</sup> Cilento notes the resemblances in Italia meridionale, 51-52 and n. 30; he also notes the resemblance of Erchempert's report (ch. 53) of the bishop Athanasius's attempt to use his granddaughter's feminine charm to seduce and conquer Lando of Capua, to a similar account in Tacitus, Annales, VI, 45, although there is no evidence of Erchempert's acquaintance with this work by Tacitus; 53 and n. 36, 53-54.

ungrammatical but given to use of the "period" and to grand models to demonstrate something of his little knowledge (sua piccola scienza); he sees Erchempert as a man rather rough and uncultured, "poco monaco e molto longobardo" (a little monk and a lot Lombard), sharp, brisk, and realistic.<sup>216</sup> Cilento concludes that Erchempert "knows how to hate and curse," and that one discovers in Erchempert "something of the primitive, the sound, the vigorous," who is not shut away meditating about metaphysics but knows many things about life.<sup>217</sup>

Erchempert makes use of literary techniques in his History which are commonly found among ninth-century chroniclers, including visions and dreams, poems and direct speech.<sup>218</sup> Erchempert combines a dream narrative with a poem in his account of Landulf I's wife, who while asleep has a vision that she has given birth to a fiery meteor which burns everything within Benevento's territory; her

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<sup>216</sup> Falco's analysis is found in "Erchemperto," 270, 275, 291.

<sup>217</sup> Cilento's conclusions are found in Italia meridionale, 52-53: Erchempert "sa odiare e maledire," and is "(e)sperto della vita, pur senza fermarsi a meditare sulle ragioni metafisiche di essa, ma consapevole della dimensione della temporalità, egli comprende molte cose. . ."

<sup>218</sup> Paul Edward Dutton's recent study of Carolingian dream texts, while primarily concerned with texts which began to appear in the 820s and dealt with the moral failings of Carolingian rulers, also includes discussion of material commonly found in chronicles of the period which has relevance to Erchempert's work; The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

husband writes an interpretive poem about the event, prophesying that their unborn child will be a ruthless destroyer of their land.<sup>219</sup> Radechis, co-assassin of Grimoald IV, suffers visions of punishment at the hands of Saint Benedict after he enters Monte Cassino.<sup>220</sup>

Other writers of Southern Italy also make use of these devices. The anonymous chronicler of Monte Cassino tells of a vision of abbot Bassacius in which his predecessor, Apollinarius, comes to him and promises Saint Benedict's protection from the Muslims who are about to cross the river to attack the monks; heavy rains suddenly come, causing the rivers to flood and preventing the invasion.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, Athanasius I appears in a vision to the sleeping Neapolitan priest Bonus, who has led a group of monks to retrieve the bishop's body from Monte Cassino, where it had been buried five years earlier; in the vision, Athanasius beats Bonus with a switch (school-boy fashion) to hurry him and his monks to their task of digging up his body before the monks of Monte Cassino awaken.<sup>222</sup>

Ninth century chroniclers also incorporated reports of

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<sup>219</sup> The dream and poem are found in Erchempert, Hist., ch. 21; similarity to Seneca's Hecuba was noted earlier.

<sup>220</sup> Erchempert portrays Radechis's vision in poetic form, in Hist., ch. 9.

<sup>221</sup> The dream is found in the Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 6, and is repeated in Leo, Chron., ch. 27.

<sup>222</sup> The vision appears in Translatio Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Neapolitani, MGH, Scr. rer. Lang., 449-452; ch. 1, 450.

disasters in their writing, linking them to social disorder or to reports of political and military misfortunes as an indication of God's judgment.<sup>223</sup> Andreas of Bergamo reports Louis II's captivity at Benevento in 871 and then notes an immediate series of disasters: the wine, just harvested and placed in vessels, had immediately become agitated (turbulentus) and had turned bad; between Easter and early May of the next year, the trees and foliage withered from blight and the grapes dried up; in August swarms of locusts descended from Vicenza and devoured much of the grain around Cremona and Brescia, all the way to Milan. Andreas (who throughout his chronicle blames the Franks for Italy's many misfortunes) points out that this series of disasters marked the one hundredth year since the Franks invaded Italy.<sup>224</sup>

The anonymous chronicler of Monte Cassino records the occurrence of an earthquake throughout the region of Benevento, placing the account between ravagings of Muslims under Massar and crimes of the Capuans; he notes that the earthquake spared Monte Cassino but damaged San Vincenzo al Volturno and completely destroyed Isernia (whose ruin was so complete that Massar reportedly declined going there for

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<sup>223</sup> Dutton cites the Annales regni Francorum for disasters and prodigies during the 820s, noting that the final entry, for 829, seems in hindsight to be a "final annalistic statement about disorder;" Politics of Dreaming, 87-90.

<sup>224</sup> Andreas records the disasters in ch. 17, Andreae Bergomatis Historia, 229.

further plunder, since God's anger had been so clearly shown).<sup>225</sup>

In England, hints of natural portents appear in the annals for 891, with the Anglo-Saxon chronicler's account of the appearance of a star "which is called in Latin cometa," coming after two years of Viking invasion and battle; a more ominous entry appears for the year 896, when the chronicler reports three years of a "mortality of cattle and men," which he says afflicted the English people as much as did the attacks of the Viking army.<sup>226</sup>

Erchempert also follows this pattern of linking natural disaster to the disorder of his time; invading Muslims from Africa have the effect of a natural disaster as they lay waste the island of Sicily with "the appearance of a swarm of bees." When Islamic invaders overrun Calabria and ravage it, their departure (presumably with booty) is prevented by a sign from heaven, "a fiery little torch of greatest size"

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<sup>225</sup> The earthquake is reported in Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 9, 473-74, with Massar's supposed reaction: "Dominus omnium illuc iratus est, et ego peramplius deseblam? Non utique ibo!"; the account of the earthquake is later repeated in Leo, Chronica, I, 28.

<sup>226</sup> Entries from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 888-890, are found in Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources, trans. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1983), 114, 118 and n. 26, 288, also noting an entry "unfortunately of dubious authority" from a version of the Annales Cambriae for 896, which reports: "Bread failed in Ireland. Vermin like moles with two teeth fell from the air and ate everything up; they were driven out by fasting and prayer;" cited from John Morris, ed. and trans., Nennius. British History and the Welsh Annals (Chichester, 1980), 49 and 90.



which plunges into their galleys in the middle of the sea and destroys them.<sup>227</sup>

Literary techniques used by ninth century writers dramatized and made widely known what was perhaps the overriding concern of the times: the meaning of power and how it should be expressed in a Christian society.<sup>228</sup>

Erchempert expresses this concern when he reports the rebellious behavior of the bishop Landulf, who refuses to recognize anyone as an equal, "much less call anyone lord;" Erchempert condemns Landulf by quoting from scripture: "(T)here is no power unless from God; therefore whoever resists power resists the command of God."<sup>229</sup>

Concern over how power was to be expressed was closely connected in the chronicles to the problem of assuring fidelity once power was established, and the topic of oaths is of particular interest here.<sup>230</sup> The use of the oath is

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<sup>227</sup> The episodes are found in Erchempert's Hist., ch's 11 and 35, respectively.

<sup>228</sup> Dutton saw the via regia of dreams as a "textual by-product of a general concern with the meaning of power;" Politics of Dreaming, 49.

<sup>229</sup> Erchempert's condemnation of Landulf occurs in Hist., ch. 31.

<sup>230</sup> Ganshof discusses Carolingian recognition of oaths as a potential danger against the state, and he notes that prohibition of mutual oaths or coniurationes was based upon the eighteenth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which forbade clerics and monks to conspire against their bishops and abbots, a prohibition renewed under Charlemagne by the synod of Frankfurt in 794; discussion of oaths and Charlemagne's use of them is found in The Carolingians, 111-124.

of particular interest when considering Erchempert's account of the situation in Southern Italy, where oaths are used almost exclusively to further private ambition rather than to support an established ruler.

Erchempert states that Charlemagne bound Grimoald III (Arichis II's son) with an oath requiring visible signs of the Beneventans' subjection, including shaving of the Lombards' chins to conform to Frankish custom, and use of Charlemagne's inscriptions on coins and bills.<sup>231</sup> An oath is sworn between Radelchis and Siconolf in the division of the principality of Benevento around 849, and an oath of loyalty to the Byzantine emperor is required of the Lombard gastald of Bari, along with his nobles, who are sent to Constantinople around 876 for this purpose.<sup>232</sup> Other than these "standard" uses of the oath for purposes of state, there are virtually no others recorded by Erchempert which do not involve conspiracies, perjury against earlier oaths, or betrayal of one family member by another.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Erchempert's report of Charlemagne's action occurs in ch. 4, and is discussed by Kreutz, Before the Normans, 7 and n. 23, 162, citing Codex Carolinus, no. 83.

<sup>232</sup> The Divisio oath "sub iureiurando" is found in ch. 19, and the oath by Bari's Lombards is in ch. 38.

<sup>233</sup> Other oaths or perjuries are found in ch. 12, Sicard's great "perjury" in exiling his own brother and mistreating faithful followers; ch. 14, illegal oaths to Siconolf by nobles defecting from Radelchis; ch. 20, Capuans' breaking of promise to submit to Louis II; ch. 26, "grave oath" sworn by Landulf and Pando to the usurper Guaiferius of Salerno; ch. 27, breaking of oath of alliance by Sergius of Naples; ch. 28, double oath-breaking by Pando and Landulf, the two surviving

Similar problems in maintaining the state's power are widely reported by chroniclers of Erchempert's period, who share much in common with him in their accounts of invasion and political turbulence. The Annals of Hincmar for 861 and 862 record attacks by Danes in territories ruled by Charles the Bald and payment of large amounts of gold and silver to the invaders by the besieged towns.<sup>234</sup> The Annals of Saint-Vaast, an abbey in southwestern Francia, record great destruction in the region by Northmen beginning in 880, with burning of monasteries and churches, including Saint-Vaast itself in 881.<sup>235</sup>

The Chronicle of Albelda, one of several chronicles written in Spain during the 880s when rulers of Asturia were making advances in efforts to overthrow Muslim rule, records a battle between forces of Alphonso III (866-910) and

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sons of Lando; ch's 30 and 31, bishop Landulf's actions causing oath-breaking of nephews; ch. 40, two oaths between Capuan brothers, the first soon broken.

<sup>234</sup> The attacks are recorded in Hincmari Annales sive Annalium Bertinianorum Pars Tertia, found in Patrologia Latina, vol. 125, Appendix, 1203-1205; translated in The Annals of St-Bertin, Ninth-Century Histories, Vol. I, trans. Janet L. Nelson (Manchester University Press, 1991), 94-104.

<sup>235</sup> Accounts of devastation are found in Annales Vedastini, ed. L'Abbé C. Dehaisnes, 302-12; the chronicler also has knowledge of Italy's situation, noting Louis II's death in 875 followed by arrival of Charles the Bald in Italy and challenge by his nephew, Carlomann, 293-94; deposition of Charles the Fat recorded in 887 with ensuing rivalry for rule of Italy between Guido, Berengar, and Odo, 328-30.

Muslims in 883.<sup>236</sup> The Chronicle of Alfonso III, whose author regards the Muslim invasion as punishment of the Visigoths and sees Asturia's rulers as descendants and rightful successors of the Goths, records successes against Islamic forces during the reigns of Alfonso, Ramiro, and Ordoño; he notes another potential threat, however, from invasions of Northmen pirates along the coasts of Spain.<sup>237</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records a Viking force wintering on the Continent in 888-889 which ravages Burgundy, Neustria, and part of Aquitaine, going on to lay siege to Saint-Lô in 889-890; the "Danes" return to England in 892. In 895 the chronicler notes that the corn was reaped so that Danes could not seize it (Erchempert makes a similar report about the Capuans, who go in force to harvest the grapes during a lull in hostilities with Athanasius's "Greeks").<sup>238</sup>

Among chroniclers of the ninth century, Nithard seems especially kindred to Erchempert in spirit and purpose. He

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<sup>236</sup> Yves Bonnaz, Chroniques Asturiennes (Fin IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle), Sources d'Histoire Médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), 30; discussion is found in Kenneth Baxter Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 9 (Liverpool University Press, 1990), 46-48.

<sup>237</sup> The Chronicle of Alfonso III, trans. Wolf, ch's 22 and 24-26; attacks by Northmen pirates are found in ch. 27; Conquerors and Chroniclers, 172-77.

<sup>238</sup> These events are found in the Annals of 888-895, in Alfred, 113-14, 117-18; the Capuan incident occurs in Erchempert, Hist., ch. 56.

was a layman, soldier, diplomat, and supporter of Charles the Bald's struggle to rule Aquitaine autonomously, in opposition to the imperial ambitions of his brother Lothair. Nithard says at the beginning of Book III that he is ashamed of what he has to record about his people, and would rather have stopped, but continues in order to prevent later inaccuracy. A partisan of Charles and participant in the wars among Louis the Pious's three sons, he concludes that the public good is being sacrificed to private gain. His grief at the destructive selfishness of the nobles shares much with Erchempert's concerning the Lombards: "In the times of Charles the Great of good memory . . . peace and concord ruled everywhere because our people were treading the one proper way, the way of the common welfare, and thus the way of God. But now since each goes his separate way, dissension and struggle abound. Once there was abundance and happiness everywhere, now everywhere there is want and sadness."<sup>239</sup>

Carlo Guido Mor saw two principal characteristics of ninth-century Italian historiography: a vision restricted to local events of city or region, without the capacity to fit these into the general Christian European movement of the

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<sup>239</sup> Nithardi historiarum libri IV (3rd ed. E. Müller, MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis recusi (Hanover/Leipzig, 1907), IV, 7; in Scholz, Carolingian Chronicles, 174.

period; and an incapacity for collecting the same events, each writer detached and enclosed within his own restricted area.<sup>240</sup> The "localism" which Mor condemns, however, can be seen instead as advantageous, particularly in Erchempert's case, for it is this quality which gives Erchempert's History value as a source of information about Southern Italy during a period for which few other contemporary sources exist. Erchempert would likely never have composed his ystoriola without the very specific and local situation of Lombard decline around him, a source of evident concern among his contemporaries as well (he says he undertook the work because he was "encouraged by many" to do so).<sup>241</sup> If his vision remains centered upon the affairs of the Beneventan region, that is what gives his work its interest and usefulness.

Ulla Westerbergh's scholarship has clarified some important points in regard to the "local" interests behind Erchempert's writing.<sup>242</sup> She has determined that a dedicatory poem found in the Latin manuscript known as Codex Vaticanus 5001, earlier thought to be associated with the Chronicon Salernitanum, is instead almost certainly the work

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<sup>240</sup> Carlo Guido Mor, "La storiografia italiana del sec. IX da Andrea di Bergamo ad Erchemperto," in Atti del 2° Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro di Studi, 1953), 241-47.

<sup>241</sup> He notes being urged by "many" in ch. 1.

<sup>242</sup> Westerbergh's analysis is found in Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry.

of Erchempert. In the poem, Erchempert dedicates his ystoriola to the Beneventan prince Aio (884-890), who in a brief triumphal period has recently subjected Atenolf of Capua to his authority, has held off Byzantine encroachments on Benevento, and seems to be achieving a revival of Beneventan sovereignty. She fixes the date of the poem's writing to sometime after Aio's return to Benevento from Bari (where he had made peace with the Byzantines) and the Arab naval victory over the Byzantines in the Straits of Messina in October 888, but before Aio's death in the autumn of 890.<sup>243</sup> Aio's death and the Byzantines' seizure of Benevento shortly after that time presumably contributed to Erchempert's apparent failure to continue his chronicle as he said he intended to do.<sup>244</sup>

When reviewing the work of ninth century chroniclers as they continued the Christian chronicle tradition in the West, it is difficult to designate any as purely "local," if one remembers the common education, common language and devices used, and the universal themes of fractured political unity, foreign invasion, and great social distress

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<sup>243</sup> The dedicatory poem and translation, followed by Westerbergh's discussion of linguistic and other evidence establishing Erchempert as author are found 8-29; estimating of date of composition, 15; Erchempert, History, ch. 80 for Aio besieged at Bari and making peace with Byzantines; ch. 81 for Arab victory over "Greeks" in Straits of Messina.

<sup>244</sup> Erchempert says in ch. 82 that he plans to add accounts of Guido and Berengar's rivalry to his present little work (opusculo).

appearing in virtually every region. In a sense, "local" is "universal," with every chronicler a participant in the shared experience of literacy and the desire to leave a record of his times.

Chronicles of Southern Italy written after Erchempert's time continue their specific contributions to the chronicle tradition, adding further information about this complex region and its mixed culture. Cilento summarizes these chronicles in his work on the chronicle of the Capuan rulers, Cronaca dei Conti e dei Principi Longobardi di Capua, which was likely written around the same time as the Chronicon Salernitanum, 974 or slightly later, with continuations to the year 1000.<sup>245</sup>

In addition to Leo's Chronica and the Chronicon Vulturense from the twelfth century, Cilento notes Amato's Historia Normannorum, written in the eleventh century and now available only in its Old French translation, L'Ystoire de li Normant. Amato or Aimé was a monk at Monte Cassino and later bishop of Nusco, near Benevento; he died in 1093. In his chronicle, written during the period when the Byzantine Empire was contesting areas of Campania and Apulia with the Normans, he recounts the arrival of Norman pilgrims coming from Jerusalem to Salerno around the year 1000 who

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<sup>245</sup> Nicola Cilento, "La Cronaca dei Conti e dei Principi Longobardi di Capua dei Codici Cassinese 175 e Cavense 4 (815-1000)," in Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano 69 (Roma, 1957): 1-66.



help Prince Guaimarius by driving away Muslims who are demanding tribute of the people.<sup>246</sup>

To these works should be added the Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae, which includes a calendar beginning with Augustus and entries running to 1137 (some with annotations), diplomas of dukes, princes, and emperors, and papal bulls favoring the interests of the abbey.<sup>247</sup> Each of these works, "local" in interest as it may be, adds to a general understanding of Southern Italy as it developed after the early medieval period.

Erchempert's significance has been variously described; Falco saw in him "something of the new humanity which is emerging in Beneventan Italy, and not there only, at the

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<sup>246</sup> L'Ystoire de li Normant, et La Chronique de Robert Viscart, par Aimé, Moine du Mont-Cassin, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac ("D'après un Manuscrit françois inédit du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle"), (Paris, 1835, reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965); Bk. I, ch. 17: "Et li pélegrin de Normendie vindrent là, non porent soustenir tant injure de la seignorie de li Sarrazin, ne que li chrestiens en fussent subject à li Sarrazin. Cestui pélegrin alèrent à Guaimarie sérénissime prince . . . et proièrent qu'il lor fust donné arme et chevauz, et qu'il vouloient combattre contre li Sarrazin, et non pour pris de monnoie, mès qu'il non pooient soustenir tant superbe de li Sarrazin;" 15.

<sup>247</sup> The Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae is discussed in Taviani-Carozzi, La Principauté, I, lviii and n. 90, noting an earlier transcription of the work by Ottorino Bertolini in 1925, in which he called it Liber Preceptorum Beneventani Monasterii S. Sophiae (Chronicon S. Sophiae).

beginning of the tenth century."<sup>248</sup> Cilento thinks that chroniclers of Southern Italy after the ninth and tenth century were in a world of reawakening culture, alive to greater external contacts, which led to new forms of historiography in the mendicant orders and especially in the cities. By contrast, Erchempert, along with the anonymous chroniclers of Monte Cassino and Salerno, were in a more circumscribed environment, given to minute and careful observations, with a taste for the particular and for the anecdote, and a passionate attachment to history as the inescapable result of good and evil; all of these qualities reflect "without doubt, an affirmation of attachment and of love for life."<sup>249</sup>

Erchempert helps his reader gain an understanding of ninth-century Southern Italy through three qualities he brings to his History: his Lombard heritage, his experience as a monk of Monte Cassino, and his participation as a chronicler in the intellectual life of his time. He writes during a transitional period which he is trying to understand, in which Lombard "freedom" appears to be

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<sup>248</sup> Falco's comments are found in "Erchemperto," 265: "qualcosa della nuova umanità che affiora nell'Italia beneventana, e non là soltanto, agl'inizi del X secolo."

<sup>249</sup> Discussion is found in Cilento, Italia meridionale, 63-64; "il loro gusto del particolare e dell'aneddoto,. . . la loro appassionata adesione alla storia, accettata come ineluttabile vicenda di bene e di male, è, senza dubbio, un'affermazione di attaccamento e di amore alla vita."

slipping away and Benevento faces an uncertain future; perhaps Erchempert's greatest gift is in sharing the experience of living with ambivalence and uncertainty in a rich but difficult culture, an experience that carries significance for modern times as well. His work takes its place in the chronicle tradition as another bit of illumination from the medieval world.

The following translation is based upon the edition of Pertz and Waitz found in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, the text of which accompanies each chapter.<sup>250</sup> The Monumenta edition is based principally upon the manuscript found in Codex Vaticanus 5001, written in a Gothic hand around the year 1300 and considered the most reliable source for the text.<sup>251</sup>

The recent translation of Erchempert's History into Italian by Italo Pin has been consulted and references to it

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<sup>250</sup> Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum, ed. G. H. Pertz and G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scrip. rer. Lang., 231-64.

<sup>251</sup> Codex Vaticanus 5001 and related manuscript sources are discussed in Waitz's Introduction, 232-34; Waitz, however, states that Erchempert's History in Codex Vaticanus 5001 was written in Beneventan script, an error later corrected by E. A. Loew in The Beneventan Script, n. 1, 28, where he says it is written in "so-called Gothic letters"; further discussion of mistaken use of the terms Lombardic or Scriptura Langobardica is found 22-40. The arrangement of works in Codex 5001 is discussed by Westerbergh in Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry, 8; Cilento notes earlier scholarship involving Codex 5001 in "La Tradizione Manoscritta di Erchemperto e del 'Chronicon Salernitanum'" in Italia meridionale, 73-102.

are noted in the following translation.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Paolo Diacono Storia dei Longobardi. In appendice Storia dei Longobardi di Benevento di Erchemberto, trans. Italo Pin, Collezione Biblioteca di Storia 4 (Pordenone: Edizioni Studio Tesi, 1990).

## Chapter 4: Translation

Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum

1. Langobardorum seriem, egressum situmque regni, hoc est originem eorum, vel quomodo de Scandania insula egressi ad Pannoniam, iterum a Pannonia Italiam transmigraverint regnumque susceperint, Paulus, vir valde peritus, compendiosa licet brevitate set prudenti composuit ratione, extendens nihilominus a Gammara et duobus liberis eius ystoriā Ratchis pene usque regnum. In his autem non frustra exclusit aetas loquendi, quoniam in eis Langobardorum desiit regnum. Mos etenim ystoriographi doctoris est, maxime de sua stirpe disputantis, ea tantummodo retexere quae ad laudis cumulum pertinere noscuntur. Ultimo autem compulsus a compluribus ego Erchempert, quasi ab ortum, praecipueque ab Adelgiso, insigni sagacique virum, ystoriolam condere Langobardorum Beneventum degentium, de quibus quia his diebus nil dignum ac laudabile repperitur, quod veraci valeat stilo exarari, idcirco non regimen eorum set excidium, non felicitatem set miseriam, non triumphum set perniciem, non quemamodum profecerint set qualiter defecerint, non quomodo alios superaverint set quomodo superati ab aliis ac devicti fuerint, ex intimo corde ducens alta suspiria,<sup>253</sup> ad posteritatis exemplum, succincto licet et inertī prosequar calamo. Hac quoque flagitatione devictus, non tantum ea quae oculis, set magis quae auribus ausi narrare me fateor, imitatus ex parte dumtaxat Marci Lucaeque euangelistarum preconiis, qui auditus potius quam visus euangelia descripserunt.

Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento

1. Paul,<sup>254</sup> a most skillful writer, composed a

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<sup>253</sup> This phrase (ex intimo corde ducens alta suspiria) with some variations was used by Ovid, Gregory of Tours, Bede, Paul the Deacon, and others; discussed by Cilento, Italia meridionale, 51 and n. 30, 51-52.

<sup>254</sup> Paulus Diaconus (Paul "the Deacon": (c. 720-c. 799); Pauli historia Langobardorum, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, Saec. VI-IX, 12-187; translated into English by William Dudley Foulke as History of the Langobards (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1907); ed. Edward Peters as Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards

history in two books, bringing together briefly but wisely the progress of the Lombards, their departure and establishment of the kingdom, from the point where they left the island Scandinavia, emigrated to Pannonia and from there to Italy, and took up their kingdom. He extended his history from Gammara<sup>255</sup> almost to the reign of Ratchis<sup>256</sup>, but in his books he excluded the age of which I will speak, not without reason, for in his time the kingdom of the Lombards came to an end. It is the custom in fact of the teacher and writer of history, especially in discussions concerning his race, to repeat only those things which are recognized to lead to an accumulation of glory. Encouraged by many, however, I Erchempert, am proceeding with unskilled yet concise pen to construct as an example for posterity a little history of the Lombards living at Benevento, starting from their rise, and especially from the time of Adelchis,<sup>257</sup> a man distinguished and shrewd. Since nothing

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(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974).

<sup>255</sup> Gammara: evidently Gambara, mother of Ibor and Aio, brothers who led a group of Lombards out of Scandinavia, according to Paul the Deacon, "a woman of the keenest ability and most prudent in counsel among her people," History, I, iii; also called a prophetess or sibyl in the Chronicon Gothanum, found in MGH, Leges IV, 641; discussed by Foulke, 3 and n. 4; 5 and n's 1, 2.

<sup>256</sup> Ratchis: Lombard king 744-749 and 756-757.

<sup>257</sup> Adelchis: prince of Benevento 853-878; Waitz's analysis of this confusing sentence is the one followed here; Erchempert seems to be indicating (ab ortum . . . ab Adelgiso) that he is continuing the Lombards' history from the rise of the Beneventan principate, principally after Adelchis, which he

praiseworthy can be written truthfully at this time about the Lombards at Benevento, I am writing for the purpose not of their rule but of their overthrow, not of their happiness but of their misery, not of their triumph but of their ruin, not how they progressed but how they fell, not how they conquered others but how they were conquered by others and were vanquished, which draws from my innermost heart a profound sigh. Overcome by this demanding task, I confess that I have dared to narrate not so much those things which were seen but rather those heard, imitating at least in part the proclaimings of the evangelists Mark and Luke, who having heard rather than seen wrote down the gospels.<sup>258</sup>

[774] 2. Igitur capta ac subiugata Carlo Italia, Pipinum filium suum illuc regem constituit cumque illo, stipatus innumerabili exercituum agmine, crebrius Beneventum adiit capessendam. Quo tempore Arichis, gener iam fati Desiderii, vir christianissimus et valde illustris atque in rebus bellicis strenuissimus, Beneventum ducatum regebat. Qui audiens eos super se adventare, Neapolitibus, qui a Langobardis diutina oppressione fatigati erant, pacem cessit eisque diaria in Liguria et Cimiterio per incolas sancitam dispensatione misericordiae vice distribuit, titubans, ut conici valet, ne ab eorum versutiis Franci aditum [787] introeundi Beneventum repperirent. Super Beneventum autem Gallico exercitu [perveniente], predictus Arichis viribus quibus valuit primo fortiter restitit, postremo autem, acriter preliantibus, universa ad instar locustarum

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does beginning with chapter 20; Waitz, n. 8, 234-35.

<sup>258</sup> The ending of this sentence resembles a passage from the first book of Gregory I's *Dialogues*, where Gregory says that in narrating what he has learned "from worthy men," he is following "the consecrated practice of the Scriptures, where it is perfectly clear that Mark and Luke composed their Gospels, not as eyewitnesses, but on the word of others;" Zimmerman, *Saint Gregory the Great Dialogues*, 6.

radice tenus corrodentibus, magis civium saluti quam liberorum affectibus consulens, geminam sobolem vice pigneris iam dicto tradidit cesari, hoc est Grimoaldum et Adelchisam, simulque cunctum thesaurum suum. Ex quibus Adelchisa multa cum prece proprio restituta suum genitori, Grimoaldum vero secum remeans detulit Aquis, collata Arichis pace sub foedere pensionis.

[774] 2. After Italy had been captured and subjugated, Charles (Charlemagne) established his son Pipin as king there, and with him and a closely packed army of countless troops he approached Benevento repeatedly in order to capture it. At this time Arichis, son-in-law of Desiderius,<sup>259</sup> ruled the duchy of Benevento, a most Christian man and greatly distinguished and energetic in matters of warfare. When he heard that Charlemagne's forces were coming, he conceded peace to the Neapolitans, who were wearied by long oppression by the Lombards, and he distributed daily provisions among the inhabitants in Liguria and Cimiterium<sup>260</sup> as a coercive measure rather than for pity, wavering in this matter, it may be conjectured,

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<sup>259</sup> Desiderius: last king of the Lombards (757-774), overthrown following Charlemagne's siege of Pavia in June, 774. A former duke in Tuscia, he became king with the support of Pope Stephen II, overcoming Ratchis's efforts to reclaim the throne following the death of Aistulf in December, 756; as king, Desiderius expelled the duke of Benevento and put his son-in-law Arichis in his place; discussion in Foulke's n. 1, 308-14.

<sup>260</sup> Liguria: (Leburia, Leguria), present-day Terra di Lavoro, agricultural region between Naples and Capua; Waitz places Cimiterium in the territory of Nola (Ager Nolanus), n's 4, 5; 235; perhaps related to the coemeterium (cemetery) at Nola, now called Cimitile, noted in Paul Blanchard, Blue Guide: Southern Italy, from Rome to Calabria, 7th ed. (London: A & C Black, 1990), 232.



lest from their trickery the Franks might discover an approach for entering Benevento. Now with the Frankish army [787] approaching Benevento, Arichis resisted strongly at first with all of his strength; but finally, with the warriors in the manner of locusts fiercely gnawing away down to the root,<sup>261</sup> taking thought more for the safety of the citizens than of fondness for his children, he handed over both of his children, Grimoald and Adelchisa, as hostages to Charles, together with his treasure. Of these, Adelchisa was restored at great price to her own father, but Charles took Grimoald away with him to Aachen, after granting peace to Arichis under an agreement to pay tribute.

3. Nactus itaque hanc occasionem, et ut ita dicam Francorum territus metum, inter Lucaniam et Nuceriam urbem munitissimam ac precelsam in modum tutissimi castris idem Arichis opere mirifico exstruxit, quod propter mare conticuum, quod salum appellatur, et ob rivum, qui dicitur Lirinus, ex duobus corruptum, Salernum appellabatur, esset scilicet futurum presidium principibus superadventante exercitu Beneventum. Infra Beneventi autem moeniam templum Domino opulentissimum ac decentissimum condidit, quod Greco vocabulo Agian Sophian, id est sanctam sapientiam, nominavit; dotatumque amplissimis prediis et variis opibus sanctimoniale coenobium statuens, idque sub iure beati Benedicti in perpetuum tradidit permanendum. Pari etiam modo in territorio Alifano Deo amabili viro ecclesiam in honorem domini Salvatoris construxit et monasterium puellarum instituit atque ditioni sanctissimi Vincentii martiris subdidit.

3. Thus finding an opportunity, after scaring away

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<sup>261</sup> Likely a description of siege techniques, for which the Franks were becoming noted during this period; discussion of changes in warfare found in Harrison, Early State, 198-200.

fear of the Franks (as one might say), Arichis constructed with marvelous skill a lofty and strongly fortified city between Lucania and Nocera, which was named Salerno because it adjoined the sea (salum) and the river (Lirinus), a corruption of the two words. The city would of course be a future protection for the rulers if an army advanced upon Benevento. Within the walls of Benevento moreover he built a most opulent and handsome church, to which he gave the Greek name Hagia Sophia or holy wisdom; and he established a religious community for women, endowed it with abundant estates and various riches, and handed it over to the perpetual rule of Saint Benedict. Also in the same way in the region of Allifae,<sup>262</sup> as a man who loved God he built a church in honor of our Savior the Lord, and he established a monastery for girls and placed it under the authority of the holy martyr, Saint Vincent.

4. Defuncto dehinc Arichiso, consilio abito, Beneventanorum magnates legatos ad Karlum destinarunt, multis eum flagitantes precibus, ut iam fatum Grimoaldum, quem a genitore obsidem iam pridie suscepserat, sibi preesset concedere dignaretur. Quorum petitionibus rex annuens, illic continuo predictum contulit virum, simulque ius regendi principatus largitus est. Set prius eum sacramento huiusmodi vinxit, ut Langobardorum mentum tonderi faceret, cartas vero nummosque sui nominis characteribus superscribi semper iuberet. Accepta denique licentia repedandi, a Beneventi civibus magno cum gaudio exceptus est. In suos aureos eiusque nomine aliquamdiu figurari placuit. Scedas

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<sup>262</sup> in territorio Alifano: evidently the ancient area of Allifae, in the present Matese region, a large, high, forested massif bordered by the Volturno, Calore, Tammaro, and Biferno rivers.

vero similiter aliquanto iussit exarari tempore. Reliqua autem pro nihilo duxit observanda; mox rebellionis iurgium initiavit.

4. Then after Arichis died and the council had left, the magnates of Benevento sent ambassadors to Charlemagne, prayerfully entreating him to allow Grimoald to rule over them, whom he had recently taken hostage from his father. The king assented to their petitions and brought Grimoald there without delay, at the same time bestowing on him the right to govern. But first he bound him with an oath, that he would have the Lombards' chins shaved and would always order documents and coins to be inscribed with Charlemagne's name. After he finally received the freedom to return, Grimoald was welcomed by the citizens of Benevento with great joy. And he was satisfied for some time to imprint Charlemagne's name on his gold coins and in fact ordered charters to be marked similarly for a time. But he saw no reason to comply with the rest and soon initiated the strife of revolt.

5. Hac etiam tempestate idem Grimoalt neptem augusti Achivorum in coniugium sumpsit nomine Wantiam; set nescitur, quam ob rem ad fructum minime pervenit. In tantum enim odium primus eorum avidus prorupit amor, ut, sumpta occasione Francorum circumquaque se repugnantium, more Hebreico sponte eam a se sequestraret; dato ei libello repudii, ad proprios lares eam vi transvexit. Hoc quidem callide licet egerit, efferitatem tamen supradictarum barbararum gentium sedare minime quivit. Nam tellures Teatensium et urbes a dominio Beneventanorum tunc subtractae sunt usque in presens, necnon et Nuceriae urbs tunc capta est, set celeriter a fato Grimoaldo acquisita est,

apprehenso in ea Guinichiso duce Spolitensium cum omnibus  
[802] bellatoribus inibi repertis.

5. At this time also Grimoald took in marriage the niece of the emperor of the Greeks, named Wantia;<sup>263</sup> but it is not known why it came to so little satisfaction. For their first eager love burst forth into such hatred that, using the excuse that all of the Franks around were opposing him,<sup>264</sup> in Hebrew fashion he spontaneously repudiated her; after giving her a notice of divorce, he had her taken back to her own home. Although he accomplished this skillfully, he nevertheless could scarcely quiet the wildness of those barbarous Franks, for they removed the lands and cities of Teate<sup>265</sup> from the rule of the Beneventans from that time until the present; they also captured the city of Nocera, [802] but Grimoald quickly recaptured it, seizing Guido, duke of Spoleto, with all of his warriors there.

6. Frequenter autem Karlus cum cunctis liberis, quos iam reges constituerat, et cum immenso bellatorum agmine Beneventum preliaturus aggreditur; set Deo decertante pro nobis, sub cuius adhuc regimine fovebamur, innumerabilibus

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<sup>263</sup> Wantia: Gay cites Life of St. Philarète for report that Evanzia, sister-in-law of Constantine VI, was sent after Arichis asked for the hand of a Byzantine princess for one of his sons; L'Italie méridionale I, n. 3, 36.

<sup>264</sup> The Franks, as supposed overlords of Benevento, did not want a Lombard-Byzantine alliance.

<sup>265</sup> tellures Teatensium: Teate Marrucinorum (now Chiete), on northern border of Benevento's territory, given by the Franks to the Duke of Spoleto; details in Cilento, Le origine, 74.

de suis peste perditis, cum paucis nonnumquam inglorius revertebatur. Unde factum est, ut, Pipino regnante in Ticino et Grimoaldo presidente in Benevento, frequentissimum bellum vexaret Beneventanos, ita ut nec ad momentum pax interfuerit illis viventibus. Erat enim uterque iuvenili aetate nitentes et ad commotiones et bella declivi. Pipinus autem fultus presidio bellatorum, iugi continuoque prelio exagitabat eum; Grimoalt vero et civitatibus munitis et primoribus quam plurimis constipatus, parvipendens ac despectui ducens illius persecutionem, in nullo cedebat ei. Agebat itaque per legatos suos Pipinus: 'Volo quidem et ita potenter disponere conor, ut, sicuti Arichis genitor illius subiectus fuit quondam Desiderio regi Italiae, ita sit mihi et Grimoalt'! Quibus econtra Grimoalt asserebat:

'Liber et ingenuus sum natus utroque parente;  
Semper ero liber, credo, tuente Deo!'

6. Charlemagne often approached Benevento now for battle, accompanied by his children whom he had already made kings and an immense procession of warriors; but God still cherished us and decided the issue on our behalf, so that Charlemagne had to turn back several times without glory after countless numbers of his men were destroyed by plague.<sup>266</sup> And so it came about that with Pipin ruling at Ticinum<sup>267</sup> and Grimoald defending Benevento, frequent warfare distressed the Beneventans so that for the moment there could be no peace while both were living. For each

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<sup>266</sup> Grimoald was said to have ordered men to scatter poisoned dust (homines cum pulveribus) in fields, mountains, and fountains to injure Charlemagne by killing off his troops and cattle, but Agobard of Lyons scoffs at this as a foolish rumor (stultitia); found in Item Liber, Contra Insulam Vulgi Opinionem de Grandine et Tonitruis, XVI, PL, 104, 157-58.

<sup>267</sup> Ticinum: present Pavia; capital of the former Lombard kingdom and now the Franks' capital of the kingdom of Italy.

was in a youthful age, radiant with manhood and inclined toward excitement and war. Supported by a garrison of warriors, Pipin now threatened to subjugate Grimoald by continuous battle; but Grimoald, sustained by fortified towns and a great many nobles, cared little and held Pipin's persecution in contempt, yielding to him in nothing. Pipin therefore asserted through envoys: "It is my will and thus my powerful intention, that just as Grimoald's father Arichis was once subjected to Desiderius, king of Italy, so shall Grimoald be to me!" Against this Grimoald declared:

"Free and noble was I born of both parents;  
Free shall I always be, I believe, with God's  
protection."

[807] 7. Et hoc quidem ita de hac luce subtracto, Grimoald alter suscepit iura Beneventi tuenda, thesaurarius videlicet divae memoriae Grimoaldi prioris, vir quoque sat mitis et adeo suavis, ut non solum cum Gallis, verum etiam cum universis circumquaque gentibus constitutis pacis inierit foedus, et Neapolitis supra memoratis gratiam pacemque [808] donavit. Set quia antiquus hostis semper invidet pacatis et piis viris atque bella et discordiae semina in eis serere molitur, Dauferium quendam virum spectabilem suae artis maliciae ignivit et cum nonnullis filiis Belial horrendum fecit inire consilium adversus principem fatum hoc modo. Depositis quippe in itinere insidiis, ut, dum per pontem proficisceretur Veterrimae urbis ad predictam urbem Salernum properans, impulsus a menbris Satanae, profundum fluctibus marinis immergeretur, esset veluis in pastum. Set revelante sibi occultorum cognitore Deo, suis ad se accersitis, iam dictum incolumis pertransiit pontem. Eos autem qui suae salutis hostis fuerant cepit et vinculis [816] iniecit. Dauferius vero, quia tunc non aderat illic, hoc agnito, fugam arripuit et Neapolitis susceptus est.

[807] 7. And after Grimoald died, another Grimoald<sup>268</sup> took up the rule at Benevento; he was evidently the treasurer of the first Grimoald, a mild and very pleasant man, who undertook a treaty of peace not only with the Franks but also with all established peoples everywhere, and [808] granted friendship and peace to the Neapolitans. But because the ancient enemy (Satan) always envies peaceful and pious men and strives to sow warfare and seeds of discord among them, he enflamed a certain notable man, Dauferius, with his malicious arts and caused him to form a terrible plan with some sons of Baal against Grimoald. They placed an ambush along the road, so that when Grimoald should proceed across the bridge at Vietri<sup>269</sup> while hastening toward Salerno, he would be driven by Satan's forces and plunged into the depths of the sea, like a beast into a pasture. But after God his defender revealed these secrets to him, Grimoald summoned his men to him and crossed unharmed over the bridge. He then seized those who were enemies of his safety and threw them into chains. Dauferius [816] was not there at the time, but after he found out about this, he took flight and was received by the Neapolitans.

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<sup>268</sup> Grimoald IV, 806-817; Pin says Grimoald II as do others who number from beginning of the principate in 774; earlier, Grimoald I (647-662) and Grimoald II (687-689) ruled as dukes while Benevento was a duchy.

<sup>269</sup> Veterrimae urbis: Waitz identifies as Vietri (now Vietri sul Mare) near Salerno; n. 1, 237.

8. Quo comperto, Grimoalt non segniter egit, set confestim iter Neapolim agreditur exercitumque post se accelerare iubet. At ubi iuxta memoratam peramplicuit urbem, . . . . . iuventutis populus eiusdem civitatis armis evector, obvius illi audacter eminus exivit in prelium. Quod ille ut intellexit, protinus itinera eorum revertendi prius irretire molitus est, et ita demum in eos insurgere voluit. Tantam denique hostium stragem coepto bello mari terraque fecit, ut fretum adiacens vix per septem et eo amplius dies cruore occisorum purgaretur; in terra vero tumuli nunc usque interfectorum conspiciuntur cadaverum. Et ut ab eisdem incolis referentibus compertus sum, quinque milia fere hominum eadem tunc in acie occubuere. Idem enim Dauferius una cum magistro militum, qui tunc inibi regnabat, soli elapsi, fugibundi moenia illius urbis tandem ingressi, nec ibi siquidem requiem capiunt. Nam egressae coniuges vivorum perpemptorum gladiis insequabantur illos, dicentes: 'Reddite nobis, o caduci viri, proprii tori, quos nequiter interfecistis'! 'Quare', inquiunt, 'adversus eos prelium insurgere conati estis, quem pro certo invictum scitis'? Grimoalt vero acrius eos insecutus est usque ad portam quae dicitur Capuana, ita ut proprio conto eam percuteret; nec erat quispiam qui resisteret; clausis tantum obseratisque foribus, qui remanserant infra muros se tutaverunt. Reverso igitur Grimoaldo ad castra cum suo exercitu incolume, altera die pro fatigio sumpto et pro interemptis affinibus iam dictus perfuga dux dedit in exenium octo milia aureos supradicto principi et memoratum Dauferium ad pristinam reduxit gratiam. Statim denique ob solitam misericordiam predicto viro donationem de rebus suis precepto firmavit, gratiam vero familiaritatemque primam non denegavit.---Interea Radechis comes Consinus, Sico Agerentinus castaldeus, quem Grimoalt dudum proselitum receperat honoribus plurimis deferens, sub dolo insurgentes in eum, cum iam extremum [817] spiritum traheret, gladio eum peremerunt.

8. When he learned of this, Grimoald did not act slowly but immediately undertook the journey to Naples and ordered the army to hurry after him. But when he had encircled the city, . . . . the people of that city raised up an armed force and from a distance boldly summoned him to meet them in battle. Because Grimoald realized how in former times he had undertaken marches continuously against



them and then turned back, he now wished to stand up to them at last. In short, he caused such a massacre of the enemy by a battle fought on land and sea, that the strait nearby was scarcely purged for seven or more days of the blood of those who perished; in fact on the land the burial mounds of the bodies of those killed may be seen even now. And as I have learned from reports of those same inhabitants, almost five thousand men died in that battle. The same Dauferius, together with the master of the soldiers who was ruling there at that time, fled within the walls of the city after the sun slipped away, but they were not allowed to rest. For the wives of the living hotly pursued them with the swords of those killed, saying: "Restore to us, oh fallen men, to their own beds, those whom you have wrongly killed! Why," they said, "did you try to raise battle against those whom you surely knew were unconquerable?" In fact Grimoald had pursued them fiercely up to the gate of the city called the Capuana, as though he would strike it through with his own pike (weapon), nor was anyone there who might resist him, for those who remained within the walls were protecting themselves, having merely closed and bolted the entrances. Grimoald had therefore gone back to camp with his army unharmed, and the next day the military commander (who had fled),<sup>270</sup> for the effort undertaken and on behalf of the relatives of those who had been killed, gave eight thousand

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<sup>270</sup> Evidently the Neapolitan commander; Waitz, n. 3, 237.

gold pieces as a present to Grimoald and restored Dauferius to his former favor. Then on account of his customary mercy, he confirmed the bestowal of Dauferius's property to him by decree and indeed did not deny him his earlier familiarity and favor.<sup>271</sup>

Meanwhile, count Radechis of Conza and the gastald Sico of Acerenza,<sup>272</sup> whom Grimoald had a little while ago received as guests and given many honors, rose against him in bad faith, when he was already drawing his last breath, [817] and killed him with a sword.

9. Interfecto igitur eo innocenter, predictus Radechis Siconem loco illius principem subrogavit. Ipse vero non multum post cuncta viriliter mundana metu gehennae abdicans, ad beati se contulit Benedicti suffragia, catenaque cervice tenus vinctus, eius coenobium Christo militaturus adiit, se reum quoque clamitans et impium, se male agisse ac

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<sup>271</sup> Pin interprets donationem de rebus suis as a gift to Dauferius from Grimoald's own property, 190; here understood as the restoration to Dauferius of his own property, which under Lombard law should have gone to the prince as punishment for treason; Rothair's Edict, 1: "That man who conspires or gives counsel against the life of the king shall be killed and his property confiscated;" similarly in King Ratchis's law (12.VIII), where an "evil" man giving out secret information about the king's affairs "shall suffer the loss of his life and his property shall be confiscated;" in Drew, Lombard Laws, 53 and 223.

<sup>272</sup> Conza or Compsa, city in ancient Samnium on the Aufidus river; (Foulke, n. 1, 176); Acerenza (Acherontia), a high fortress in Lucania on one of the outlying buttresses of Monte Vulture (Hodgkin VI, 272-73); both had been Byzantine fortresses during the period following the Gothic wars; epitaph to Sico (who was thought to be an illegitimate son of Arichis) indicates that Arichis had promised him a position of rank; cited in Waitz, n. 1, 238; in Gesta Epis. Neap., ch. 51, 428, Sico is said to have been from Benevento, taken north to Forum Iulii as a child by his mother.

crudeliter vociferans, sicque monachicum scema sumens, in tanta se districtione corporis animique coram oculis internis arbitris in eodem monasterio coartivit, ut nulli scrupulum adsit, omnium facinorum suorum veniam adipisci meruisse. Circuibat ille saepe diabolus girans septa sacri monasterii et voce perspicua, multis audientibus, clamitabat, inquiens:

'Heu, Benedicte, mihi! Cur me undique rodis? Inique, Me prius hinc pulso, nunc mea membra lucras!'

9. After he had killed Grimoald without cause, Radechis proposed Sico as ruler and successor in Grimoald's place.<sup>273</sup> But Radechis not much later manfully renounced all worldly things for fear of hell and gave himself to the judgment of the blessed Benedict; bound by a chain up to his neck, he went to Benedict's community to become a soldier for Christ, crying out that he was a criminal and impious, shouting that he had acted evilly and cruelly. Thus putting on the monastic habit, he confined himself with such severity of body and mind before the eyes of witnesses within that monastery that no one could doubt that he had merited pardon for all of his deeds. He often went round the sacred monastery like a devil in a circular course, seven times, and in a clear voice, with many hearing, he cried out, saying:

"Woe is me, Benedict! Why do you gnaw me from every side? First I beat myself unjustly from this side, now you are gaining portions of me!"

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<sup>273</sup> Sico ruled 817-833.

[818] 10. Suscepto itaque Sico principatu, foedus cum Francis innovavit, Beneventanos bestiali efferitate persequitur, atque se superstitute filium suum Sicardum nomine heredem principatu effecit, virum satis lubricum, inquietum et petulante animique elatione tumidum. Per idem tempus Neapolitis, quorum superius mentionem feci, bellum a Sicone creberrimum motum est, et civitate valide obsessa tellure [821] pontoque ac fortiter iaculis et scorpionibus oppugnata, pene capta esset, si defuisset ingenium. Nam iuxta ora maris murum arietibus et machinis funditus eliso, iam cum catervatim populus ingredi urbem niteretur, dux iam dictae civitatis, data mox obside genitrice sua ac duobus propriis liberis, magnopere eum callida arte exflagitans, per nuncios ait ita: 'Tua est urbs cum universis quae infra se retinet; placeat ergo pietati tuae, ne inter predam detur; crastina autem die cum trofeo victoriae gloriosissime ingredi, possessurus nos omniaque nostra'! His ergo suggestionibus fidem accommodans, diem sustinuit venturum; subsequenti vero nocte interrupta urbs muro firmissimo solida est, et crepusculo, quo se suamque tradere pollicitus est civitatem, arma bellica suscipiens, contra eum se erexit ingenti certamine. -- Oppressi igitur durius a genitore et filio per sedecim continuos annos, cives prefatae urbis, cum iam ad extremitatem maximam pervenisset, ad Francorum se contulere presidium. His denique diebus preerat illis cesar Lodogicus cognomento Almus, filius Karli superioris augusti, qui Lutharium natum suum consortem dum regni asciret, ab eo una cum socia sua captus ac custodiae mancipatus est, set ab obtinatis suis ereptus, ad pristinam sublimatus est gloriam. Quibus annitentibus, [831] obsessio ab illis aliquamdiu sublevata est.

[818] 10. After Sico had become ruler, he renewed the treaty with the Franks and while he was still living made his son Sicard heir by name to the rule, who would persecute the Beneventans with beastly wildness, a quite lewd man, unquiet and puffed up with impudence and exaltation of will. Throughout this time Sico brought war quite frequently against the Neapolitans, and after the city had been strongly besieged by land and sea and attacked fiercely by [821] spears and catapults of the scorpion type, its spirit

was so depleted that it was almost captured. For near the sea coast the wall had been utterly destroyed by battering rams and machines, and people were now striving to enter the city in throngs. The duke of Naples, having soon given as hostages his mother and his own two children, entreated Sico most craftily through messengers: "The city is yours with everything in it; let your sense of duty prevent it from being plundered, and enter tomorrow with the trophy of most glorious victory to possess us and everything we have!" Giving his guarantee to these suggestions, Sico postponed his coming; but during the following night the broken city was made firm with a very strong wall, and at twilight, when the duke had promised to hand over his city, taking up weapons, he raised a mighty battle against Sico. -- As a consequence, Naples was oppressed harshly by father and son for sixteen continuous years, and when the city had arrived at its greatest extremity, the citizens turned to the Franks for assistance. By then the emperor Louis "the Pious" ruled over the Franks, son of the former emperor Charles; when Louis admitted his son Lothar as consort of the kingdom, Louis together with his wife was captured by Lothar and delivered up into custody, but after Louis had been set free [831] by his nobles, he was raised to his former glory.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Nithard tells of the plot against Louis in Book I of his Histories; the magnates involved in the plot to dethrone Louis said they did it to save the emperor from the disastrous influence of those who were dominating him, maintain the unity of the empire, and uphold the sworn order of succession;

With Frankish forces supporting them, the Neapolitans raised the siege for some time.

11. Circa haec tempora gens Agarenorum a Babilonia et Africa ad instar examen apum manu cum valida egrediens, Siciliam properavit, omnia circumquaque devastans; tandem [832] civitatem insignem Panormum nomine captam, nunc usque commoratur, plurimasque in eadem insulam urbes et oppida dirruens, iam pene tota illarum gentium ditioni substrata [840] congemescit. Inter haec moritur Lodoquicus, qui secundus in Gallia augustali preerat imperio; Lutharius supradictus illius regni heres effectus est, atque ab hoc Francorum divisum est regnum, quoniam Lutharius Aquensem et Italicum, Lodoquicus autem Baioarium, Karlus vero, ex alia ortus genitrice, Aquitaneum regebant imperium.

11. Around this time, a powerful force of Agareni<sup>275</sup> came from Babylonia<sup>276</sup> and Africa with the appearance of a swarm of bees and hastened to Sicily, devastating everything around; at length they captured the city of [832] Panormus (Palermo), where they dwell even now, and destroyed many cities and towns on this same island, so that nearly all of them now groaned, scattered under the control [840] of those races. During this period Louis died, who

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discussed by Scholz in Carolingian Chronicles, n's 11-14, 200-01.

<sup>275</sup> Agareni: from Hagar, concubine of Abraham, whose son Ishmael was by tradition thought to be progenitor of the Arab peoples (Hismaelitae); elsewhere called pagani or Saraceni (a Greek word, thought to imply descent from Abraham's wife, Sarah, hence Agareni often used as a corrective); other usages indicate place of origin, as Agarenos Libicos and Hismaelitas Hispanos; discussion in Daniel, The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe, 53.

<sup>276</sup> Babylonia: Fustat, Islamic capital of Egypt on the Nile, near which Cairo would be founded in 969 by a Fatimid caliph.

had been the second to hold imperial power in Gaul; Lothar inherited the imperial title, but after this the kingdom of the Franks was divided, since Lothar ruled with the imperium at Aachen and Italy, Louis in Bavaria, and Charles, born of another mother, in Aquitaine.

[832] 12. Set ut retro vertam sermonem, mortuo Sicone, Sicardus monarchiam solum optinuit, qui iam cum patre saepius memorato per aliquot feliciter imperaverat annos; coepitque populum sibi commissum ex levitate animi beluina voracitate insequi ac crudeliter laniare. Inter haec, ut Asuerus Aman, ita iste pretulit ceteris Rofridum quendam, filium Dauferii cognomento Prophetae, cuius consilii subversione multa sacrilega ac blasmia patrabat. Fuit autem idem vir in mundanis rebus prudens et nimium versutus et ultra quem credi potest callidus. Adeo enim circumvenit prestigiis suis fallacibus supradictum virum, ut illo absente et dissentiente nil umquam exercere vel ad momentum auderet. Sicque ab eo deceptus et inlaqueatus est, ut [834] germanum suum Siconolfum nomine gratis perpetuo dampnaret exilio cunctosque Beneventanae gentis procures aut custodiis aut morti indiderit; ad hoc nimirum tendens, ut, dum relictus ac destitutus solacio esset optimatum, citra suam suorumque sanguinis effusionem facillime interimeretur. Quam ob rem et Maionem cognatum suum tonderi iussit et monasterium retrudi, Alfanum denique, quo nemo fidelior illo tempore fuit, virum illustrem et fortissimum robore, laqueo suspendi fecit. Tuncque factum est ingens periurium in Benevento, ex quo conicitur, iram Dei primum fore provocatam ad perdendam terram.

[832] 12. But to turn back, after Sico died, Sicard held the monarchy alone, who had already ruled successfully with his father for some years;<sup>277</sup> and from inconstancy of character he began to persecute with beastly greed the people entrusted to him, and cruelly tear them to pieces.

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<sup>277</sup> Sicard ruled alone 833-839.

Among these, as Asuerus with Ama,<sup>278</sup> he now preferred one above others, a certain Rofridus, son of Dauferius known as "the Prophet," by whose ruinous counsel he carried out many irreverent acts and desecrations against God. Rofridus was knowing in worldly affairs, deceitful and crafty to an unbelievable degree. For he encircled Sicard with deceitful trickery, so that when he was in disagreement or absent, Sicard never dared do anything, even for a moment. And thus he was deceived and entrapped by him, so that he condemned [834] his own brother Siconolf to perpetual exile for nothing, and put the nobles of the Beneventan people either into custody or to death; he kept this up, of course, so that when Siconolf was abandoned and destitute of the help of the nobles, he could easily be killed without spilling his own (Sicard's) blood and that of his followers. He also ordered Maionus, his own relative, to be tonsured and withdrawn to a monastery; and finally he had Alfanus hanged,<sup>279</sup> who was more faithful to him than anyone at that time, a distinguished man of great strength. At that time a great perjury was accomplished at Benevento, from which it

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<sup>278</sup> Asuerus and Ama: a puzzling reference, possibly to Asher (Asshur), reportedly the eighth son of Israel's eponymous ancestor, Jacob, with whose name the western region of Galilee is associated; Ama remains unidentified.

<sup>279</sup> Alfanus: abbot, deacon and then bishop of Benevento, was exiled by Sicard along with four hundred followers, falsely pardoned, trapped, and hanged, according to the Chron. Salern., ch's 68-69; discussed in Pochettino, I langobardi, 203-04.



may be conjectured that for the first time the anger of God was called forth for the destruction of their land.

13. Talia eo tractante, divina actum est dispensatione, ut, dum alium innocenter conaretur extinguere, prevenientem interim langorem, ipse caelitus spiritu pariter et carne percussus interiit. Prius enim quam obiret, ut cumulus suae perditionis iustius augetetur, pro amore pecuniae spectabilem et Deo dignum virum, sanctitate conspicuum, Deusdedit nomine, beatissimi Benedicti vicarium, a pastoralis monasterio monachorum [834] seculari magis potentia quam congrua ratione deposuit ac custodiae mancipavit. Cuiusque nunc usque cineres, quo recubat humatus, nonnullos febre retentos variisque langoribus oppressos ex fide poscentes creberrime curare noscuntur. Quid enim dicam de huius viri nequitiis, quando quidem, distractis ecclesiarum coenobiorumque prediis, nobiles ac mediocrium rebus violenter ablatis, secundum subputationem dierum anni embolismi curtis opulentissimas aggregavit? Hoc quoque misero ita obeunte, paulo post a filii vel Adelferio nomine Sicardus supradictus princeps [839] gladio perimitur; Deo iuste retribuente, qui plerumque reddit iniquitatem patris in filios, carnem solummodo feriens ulciscitur; ut quia Sico, genitor suus, Grimoaldum seniore suum indebite occideret, ulciscente Deo, filius illius a subditis interficeretur. Et isto hoc modo decedente, percussor non diu laetatus est; nam parvo post tempore a Sicone notho cognomento Albo predictus homicida extinctus est, silicet ut iuxta verbum Domini, qui gladio corpus proximi transverberaverit, iusto valde iudicio talionem, hoc est similem ultionem, in se ipso expertus sit.

13. After Sicard had carried out such things, with divine dispensation it happened that when he tried to destroy another blameless person, a weakness meanwhile prevented it and he died, heaven-struck in spirit as well as in flesh. Even before he died, in order that the accumulation of his sins might rightfully increase, for love of money he deposed a notable and worthy man of God named

Deusdedit, distinguished for his sanctity and vicar of the most blessed Benedict,<sup>280</sup> from his pastoral monastery of monks to a secular one, more from power than for a suitable [834] reason, and handed him over into custody. Even now some of his ashes where he lies buried are frequently known to cure people overcome by fever or oppressed by various weaknesses who call upon him from faith. What indeed may I say of the wickedness of this man, when after tearing away estates from churches and religious communities, and violently carrying off the property of nobles and common men, he added great riches to the court by following the reckoning of an extended year?<sup>281</sup> With this wretched [839] business hastening his death, Sicard was killed soon after by Adelferius, either by sword or a cord. It was God's swift retribution, punishing the father's iniquity through the son; because Sico, his father, had wrongfully killed Grimoald his lord, as God's punishment his son was slain as a substitute. After Sicard died in this way, the assassin did not rejoice for long; for after a short time he

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<sup>280</sup> Deusdedit, abbot of Monte Cassino 828-834, imprisoned after refusing to give Sicard the monastery's treasure; details in Leo, Chron., I, 22; discussed in Citarella and Willard, Ninth Century Treasure, 78 and n. 136.

<sup>281</sup> Annus embolismalis: embolistic year, having thirteen new moons as opposed to one with twelve, within nineteen-year cycle calculated by harmonizing weeks, lunar cycles, and years; discussed in R. Dean Ware, "Medieval Chronology: Theory and Practice," in Medieval Studies: An Introduction, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse Univ. Press, 1976), 229-30; implication is that Sicard is raising additional revenue by extorting extra monthly fees.

was killed by the bastard Sico "the White," who, no doubt in accordance with the Lord's word, pierced the body of his next of kin with a sword, a just retaliation and vengeance similar to what Adelferius had himself experienced.

14. Decedente itaque Sikardo ab hac luce corporea, [840] Radelgisus principatus regimen suscepit, thesaurarius prefati viri, in cuius electione omnis, ut ita dicam, Beneventi provincia consensit, vir autem blandus ac bonis moribus pollens. At ubi idem primatum promeruit, Siconolfus, quem superius exulem premisi, a custodia carceris elapsus fugae latibulum cepit, et ab Urso comite Consino cognatogue suo aliquamdiu latuit occultatus. Quo etiam tempore liberi Dauferii Balvi, videlicet Romoalt, Arichis et Grimoalt, necnon et Guaiferius, Beneventi moenia relinquentes, Salernum invasere Siconolfumque quo latebram fovebat repertum seniores sibi unanimiter constituerunt; factaque tunc talis dissensio, qualis numquam fuit in Beneventum ex eo quo Langobardi in ea ingressi sunt. Ante adventum itaque Siconolfi in Salernum missus est Adelmarius a supradicto Radelgiso principe, ut filios Dauferii ad suam fidelitatem converteret; qui illuc abiens, astu doloso principe deseruit et se illis sociavit eosque ignivit deterius.

14. After Sicard departed from this worldly life, [840] his treasurer Radelgis assumed the rule of the principality,<sup>282</sup> in whose election everyone in the province of Benevento consented, a charming and able man of good character. But Siconolf, who had earlier been sent into exile,<sup>283</sup> deserved the same primacy there; he escaped from the custody of prison into flight, took up a hiding place,

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<sup>282</sup> Radelchis I, 839-851.

<sup>283</sup> He had been exiled by Sicard to Taranto.

and lay hidden for some time, concealed by Ursus, count of Conza and a relative. At this time the children of Dauferius of Balbi, Romoalt, Arichis and Grimoalt, and also Guaiferius, left Benevento and unanimously recognized Siconolf as their lord (discovered where he was hiding while preparing to invade Salerno); and such dissension was created at that time, as had never existed in Benevento since the Lombards had entered it. Before Siconolf arrived at Salerno, Adelmarius was sent by Radelgis to restore the fidelity of the sons of Dauferius; but after Adelmarius left there, he deserted his ruler with treacherous cunning and allied himself with the sons and enflamed them worse.

15. Eodem quoque tempore Landolfus iam Capuae preerat gastaldeus, vir quippe ad bella promptissimus debellator. Hic autem vetustam exercens inimicitiam cum quibusdam de genere Seducorum, animo et gente crudelibus viperis, interfici fecit ex primis eorum septem viros, uni eorumque manibus abscidi; reliqui presidium fugae sumentes, Benevento adeunt Radelgisum, adfinem suum. Landulfus autem Sicopolim ingressus, a Radelgisi dominatione se subducens, Siconolfo sociatus est, ac primum cum Neapolitis pacis coniunxit foedera. Fretus itaque Siconolfus huius ac liberorum eius auxilio, totam Calabriam suo subdidit famulatui maximamque partem Apuliae; dein adversus Beneventum preliis insurgere nititur, plurimasque urbes et nonnulla oppida ab eius dominio auferens, suoque iuris subiecit. Et quia erat vir bellicosissimus, partimque metu pene cunctum populum eum ambiens sequebatur. Prius enim quam Siconolfus Salernum optineret, a predicto Adelmario Radelgisus invitatus et a [842] suis stratoribus fraude suasus, Salernum quasi capturus adventavit. Quo dum pervenisset, castrametari grandi cum audacia placuit; set subito velud turbae civitate isdem vir cum fati Dauferii filiis egressus, eos inaudita caede mactaverunt, bonaque eorum cuncta diripientes, ditati sunt; et Radelgisus vix cum paucis inglorius fugiens evasit, nec ultra ausus est Salerni metas gressibus attingere.

15. During this time Landulf ruled as gastald at Capua, a conqueror who was always ready for war.<sup>284</sup> He was carrying on an ancient feud here with certain members of a race of Seductors who were by spirit and species as cruel as vipers, and he had seven of their leaders killed and had the hands of one of them cut off; the rest defended themselves by fleeing and went to their neighbor Radelgis at Benevento. Landulf now entered Sicopolis,<sup>285</sup> removing himself from Radelgis's lordship; he became allied with Siconolf and for the first time joined an alliance of peace with the Neapolitans. Siconolf, relying on Landulf's help and that of his sons, subjected all of Calabria and much of Apulia to his enslavement; next he rose vigorously against Benevento with battles, and taking many cities and several towns from Radelgis's control by force, he subjected them to his own authority. And because he was a most warlike man, and partly out of fear, almost all of the surrounding people followed him. Even before Siconolf occupied Salerno, Radelgis was invited there by Adelmarius, encouraged [842] deceitfully by his own quartermasters, and he approached as though to capture it. When he arrived there,

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<sup>284</sup> Landulf I, 815-843.

<sup>285</sup> Sicopolis, a hilltop fortress upstream on the Volturno river, to which Capua was evacuated following destruction of the old Capua in 841 by Muslims during battles over division of the principality of Benevento; discussed by Cilento, Italia meridionale, 18; the name "Rebellopolis" was jokingly applied to the town later, according to the Chron. Sal., ch. 58.

he determined to lay out his camp with great audacity; but suddenly with a great uproar Adelmarius came out of the city with the sons of Dauferius, and they killed Radelgis's forces with an unbelievable massacre, and enriched themselves by seizing all of their possessions. Radelgis fled without glory, barely escaping with a few men, nor did he dare to set foot within the limits (turning posts) of Salerno.

16. Hiis quoque diebus Pando quidem Barim regebat, qui iussis optemperans Radelgisi, Saracenorum phalangas in adiutorium accitas iuxta murum urbis et ora maris locavit commorandas. Hii autem, ut sunt natura callidi et prudentiores aliis in malum, subtilius contemplantes munitionem loci, intempesta noctis, christicolis quiescentibus, per abdita loca penetrant urbem, populumque insontem partim gladiis trucidarunt, partim captivitati indiderunt; supradictum vero proditorem gentis et patriae, variis multisque suppliciis dibachantes, postremo, ut vere dignum fuit, marinis sugillarunt gurgitibus. Quo comperto, Radelgis, quia eos urbe nullatenus evellere quibat, coepit tamen quasi familiares amicos excolere et ad suum adiutorium sensim provocare. Ac primum castrum Cananense una cum Urso [848] filio suo illis destinavit oppugnandum. Confestim igitur intimatur hoc Siconolfo; perstatim mora seposita eos debellaturus properavit, atque super eos audacter irruens, cunctos qui fugere nequiverant armis stravit, tantoque victoriae potitus est tropheo, ut ex innumerabili acie paganorum vix pauci elapsi essent, qui urbem residuis casu pereuntium explicarent. Rex vero eorum Calfo nomine solus cum dedecore fugiens, equo in itinere iam fesso ammisso, tandem valde lassus plantis propriis urbem introgressus est.

16. Also at that time a certain Pando was ruling at Bari,<sup>286</sup> who in obeying the orders of Radelgis stationed troops of Saraceni as military support between the city wall

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<sup>286</sup> Bari: Benevento's major seaport on the Adriatic sea.

and the sea. But the Saraceni, as they are by nature clever and more skilled in evil than others, observed keenly the fortification of the place, and in the dead of the night while the Christian inhabitants were sleeping, entered the city through hidden places and slaughtered some of the innocent people by sword and placed others into captivity. Two of the revelers, after inflicting many different punishments on Pando (as he in truth deserved), finally bruised and beat this traitor to race and country by means of the deep waters of the sea.<sup>287</sup> Radelgis, when he learned of this, because he could in no way get rid of the Saraceni from the city, began to cultivate them carefully as friends and familiars, and to bring them about gradually to his assistance. And to begin with, he sent them to attack [848] the fortress at Canne with Ursus, his son.<sup>288</sup> Siconolf was immediately alarmed by this and without delay hastened at once to make war upon them; rushing in upon them boldly, he overthrew all of those who were unable to flee, and his triumph was so great that only a few from the

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<sup>287</sup> The ablative construction here (marinis sugillarunt gurgitibus) seems to imply torture administered in the sea, or perhaps drowning following a severe beating (Pin thinks they tear him apart and sink him in "the whirlpools" of the sea: "Straziarono quel traditore . . . e . . . lo sprofondarono nei gorgi del mare," 196); dibachantes understood as two (di-) participants in the rioting.

<sup>288</sup> castrum Cananense: Musca identifies as fortress at Canne; L'emirato, 33; Waitz notes that Pratillus thought Canosa (Canusium); n. 1, 241; Canne is on the Ofanto river (ancient Aufidus), nearer the sea than Canosa.

numberless army of the pagans escaped who could explain to those left in the city the misfortune of those who perished. In fact their king, named Calfo,<sup>289</sup> fled alone with shame, losing his worn-out horse along the way, and at last entered the city in great weariness on his own feet.

17. Interea Siconolfus Beneventum crebris preliis graviter affligebat, atque, ut dici solet, 'mala arbor, modo malus infigendus est cuneus', contra Agarenos Radelgisi Libicos Hismaelitas Hispanos accivit, hisque invicem intestino et extero altercantibus bello, ultramarina loca [843] captivis nostrae gentis diversi sexus et aetatis fulciebantur. Quadam vero die convenere utraeque acies in Furculas Caudinas, commissumque est belli certamen, ac primo impetu Radelgisi pars victrix existens, Siconolfi exercitum totum in fugam vertit. Siconolfus autem in loco tutissimo tunc constitutus, cum paucis suorum mox super Beneventanos triumphantes ac suos insequentes virili irruit animo et non minima caede prostravit; patrataque victoria, plurimos eorum gladiis extinxit, nonnullos cepit, reliquos vero in fugam compulit. Fretus itaque frequentissimis victoriis, omnes urbes et castella a Radelgisi abstrahens iure, excepto Siponto, Beneventum circumdedit oppugnandum. Cumque telis et lue famis non mediocriter coartaretur, mandatum ilico est Guidoni, ut properaret urbem. Erat autem idem Guido dux Spolitensium, Siconolfi cognatus, pro cupiditate tamen pecuniarum, quibus maxime Francorum subicitur genus, postposito vinculo parentali, in adiutorium ilico profectus est Radelgisi, atque per nuncios suggesit Siconolfo obsidente urbem, ut obsessione relicta ad propria remearet, adiciens inter cetera: 'Permitte me loqui cum Radelgiso, quia tuae magis parti favebo'. Recessit igitur Siconolfus a loco illo; Guido interim applicuit, et accepta a Radelgiso unam sellam pro septuaginta milibus nummis aureis, dirrupit quodcumque pollicitus fuerat suo cognato, et alienatus ab eo, via qua venerat rediit.

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<sup>289</sup> Kalfûn, first emir of Bari, 847-852; his followers are thought to have been Berbers (originally Mauri or Moors from North Africa) who formed part of the Islamic force invading Sicily in the 840s and who then attacked areas on the Ionian coast; discussion of Kalfûn's emirate may be found in Musca, L'emirato, 31-45.



17. Meanwhile Siconolf gravely distressed Benevento with frequent battles, and as the saying goes, "for a bad tree, only a bad wedge should be driven in."<sup>290</sup> He sent for Spanish Ismaelites to use against the Libyan Agareni of Radelgis, and with these forces wrangling in war among themselves and with those outside, their places overseas [843] were strengthened with captives from our people of different sexes and ages.<sup>291</sup> But on a certain day, when each of the armies had gathered at the Caudine Forks,<sup>292</sup> a battle was joined, and with Radelgis's side victorious at the first charge, Siconolf's entire army turned to flight. But Siconolf was stationed at that time in a very secure place, and with a few of his men he soon rushed in upon the triumphant Beneventans, pursuing their forces courageously and destroying them in a great massacre; and with victory achieved, he killed many of them with swords, seized some,

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<sup>290</sup> Pin also puzzles over this saying, thinking it has the sense of: "In the knot of a bad tree a bad nail is driven;" he translates it: "A bad knot is driven out with a bad nail" ("cattivo nodo va cacciato con cattivo chiodo;" 196 and n. 26, 241.

<sup>291</sup> Agarenos Libicos: from Crete, according to Cilento and Willard, Ninth Century Treasure, 56 and n. 72; Hismaelitas Hispanos, from Spain (see ch. 11); Musca, in L'emirato di Bari, deals more sympathetically with these Islamic forces (variously called Arabs, Saracens, Moors, Berbers, and pagans in the sources) as they grow beyond their early roles as raiders and pirates and establish more stable regimes in Italy.

<sup>292</sup> Furculus Caudinas or Caudine Forks, a pass along the Via Appia between Naples and Benevento, generally supposed to be the site where the Romans were trapped and defeated disastrously by the Samnites in 321 BC.

and put the rest to flight. Growing confident with repeated victories, he drew all the cities and fortresses away from the authority of Radelgis, with the exception of Siponto,<sup>293</sup> and surrounded Benevento to attack. And when Benevento had grown severely distressed by assault and the scourge of hunger, Guido was commanded to hasten immediately to the city. Now this was the same Guido, duke of Spoleto and relative of Siconolf,<sup>294</sup> who from lust of money, to which the race of Franks is greatly enslaved, disregarded the bonds of kinship and proceeded immediately to the support of Radelgis. Through messengers he suggested to Siconolf, who was besieging the city, that he abandon the siege and go back to his own land, saying among other things: "Let me talk to Radelgis, so that I can be of more help to your side." Accordingly Siconolf went away; Guido meanwhile drew close, and after accepting a chair from Radelgis worth seventy thousand gold nummis,<sup>295</sup> broke off

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<sup>293</sup> Siponto: Adriatic seaport on south side of Gargano peninsula and by early Middle Ages the chief port of northern Apulia; controlled by Benevento from seventh to eleventh centuries; after earthquake of 1223 the residents were transferred to new town of Manfredonia; it was an unsatisfactory port, Gay concluded, since exposed to pirate incursions, compelling Benevento to compete for possession of Campanian littoral; L'Italie méridionale, I, 33-34.

<sup>294</sup> Siconolf was married to Guido's sister, Itta, according to the Chron. Salern., ch. 92.

<sup>295</sup> Sella: interpreted here as chair, likely highly ornate; Pin says sedan-chair (portantina), 197; nummis: here made of gold; according to DuCange and Niermeyer, these were lesser coins equal to the Roman denarius.

whatever he had promised to Siconolf, his relative, and leaving him behind returned along the road by which he had come.

18. Post haec predictus Guido suasit Siconolfo, ut datis quinquaginta milia nummis aureis pro adunatione provinciae Beneventanae: 'Et optinere te', inquit, 'faciam eam hinc et inde, quasi palmo metiaris eam'! Cuius tunc consilio consentiens, Romam adiit, aureos tribuit, sacramenta dedit, iusiurandum suscepit, nihil proficiens inanis abscessit. Erat autem adhuc inter Siconolfum et Radelgisum frequentissima pugnae concertatio et cotidiana litium seditio, unde et ex diversa parte quibus via iustitiae displicebat alternatim ab uno in alterum confugiebant, fiebantque crebra par rapinae incestaeque fornicationes. Erant siquidem universi erranei et ad malum prompti, quasi bestiae sine pastore oberrantes in saltum. Set cum iugiter civili bello invicem inter se lacerarentur essetque omnium perniciēs et, ut ita dicam, animae et cordis extrema perditio, maxime quia Saraceni Benevento degentes, quorum rex erat Massari, intra extraque omnia funditus devastavit, ita ut etiam optimates illius pro nihilo ducerent atque ut ineptos servulos taureis duriter flagellarent.

18. After this Guido persuaded Siconolf to give him fifty thousand gold nummis for the unification of the province of Benevento: "And to get it for you," he said, "let me do it from here and from there, as if you had measured it by the palm of your hand!" Then agreeing with his advice, Siconolf went to Rome, paid gold pieces, brought civil law suits, and gave an oath, but after making no progress, he left.<sup>296</sup> There was still frequent combat in

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<sup>296</sup> Kreutz says Siconolf's payment to Guido was a bribe to help him persuade Louis II to accept Siconolf's claims while both attended Louis's coronation as rex langobardorum at Rome in 844; a different version of the outcome is found in the Life

battle between Siconolf and Radelgis and daily civil discord from lawsuits, in which whoever on either side was displeased with the course of justice fled for help by turns from one to the other, and robberies and unchaste fornications arose in equal succession. There were wanderers everywhere ready for wrongdoing, like beasts without a shepherd rambling about into the sea. They tore perpetually at each other in civil war to the ruin of all, with what one might call the utmost loss of spirit and heart, especially because the Saraceni living at Benevento, whose king was Massari, had utterly devastated everything inside and out to such an extent that they even commanded the nobles there for no reason and whipped them harshly with whips of bull's hide as though they were clumsy young slaves.

[855] 19. His quoque diebus mortuo iam dicto Luthario, regnum Gallicum pentifarie divisum est, quoniam Lodoquicus et Karlus, germani eius, Baioariam et Aquitaniam regebant, primogenitus eius filius Lodoquicus nomine Italiam, secundus Lutharius Aquis, tertius Carlictus Provinciam tuebantur. Huic ergo Lodoquico augusto suppliciter relatum est per Landonem comitem Capuanum, filium Landolfi supradicti viri, et per Ademarium iam fatum virum; qui licet erat admodum parvuli, pro Dei tamen zelo eorum humilibus precibus aures accommodans, etiam consensum prebuit; et celeriter veniens, universos prophanae gentis hostes ab urbe vi distrai hac framea necari fecit; et presentibus omnibus Langobardis, [851?] inter duos predictos viros totam provinciam Beneventanam aequitatis discrimine sub iureiurando

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of Sergius II, which indicates that Siconolf had gotten what he wanted from Louis; discussion is found in Kreutz, Before the Normans, 29-30 and n. 42, 169, citing Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, II, 90.

dispertivit. Hoc autem facto, non diu supervixit Siconolfus, set debitum mortis munus exolvens, filium suum adhuc lactantem ministerii sui reliquit heredem. Cui superstes parum qui extitit Radelgis. Quo migrato, Radelgarius, filius eius, in principatum loco eius electus est, vir plane fortis viribus et animo pius ac corpore cunctis gratus.

[855] 19. Also at that time, after Lothar died the Frankish kingdom was divided into five parts, since Lothar's brothers Louis and Charles were ruling Bavaria and Aquitaine; Lothar's first-born son Louis was ruling Italy; the second son, Lothar, at Aachen; and the third son, Charles, in Provence. Accordingly, the situation at Benevento was reported to the emperor Louis<sup>297</sup> through the entreaty of Landolf's son Lando, count of Capua, and through Ademarius. Louis, although he was quite young, nevertheless listened to their humble prayers from zeal for God and agreed to their request. Coming quickly, he had all foreigners of profane race separated by force from the city [851?] and here killed by spear;<sup>298</sup> and with all of the Lombards present, he apportioned the whole province of Benevento between Radelgis and Siconolf by an equitable dividing-line, under sworn oath.<sup>299</sup> After this had been

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<sup>297</sup> Louis II, Emperor 855-875.

<sup>298</sup> According to the Chron. S. Ben. Cas., Louis's entrance into Benevento and slaughter of the Muslims occurred at Pentecost, and he had Massari beheaded; ch. 12.

<sup>299</sup> Radelgisi et Siginulfi Divisio Ducatus Beneventani, found in M.G.H. Leges IV, 221-25; Musca, dating the accord to 849, thinks that the Islamic threat was the decisive factor in

accomplished, Siconolf did not live much longer, but released by death he left his infant son and heir to one of his officials.<sup>300</sup> Radelgis scarcely survived him. After he passed away, his son Radelgarius was chosen as ruler in his place, a vigorous man of pious spirit and a body pleasing to all.<sup>301</sup>

20. Per idem tempus Agareni Varim incolentes coeperunt devastantes stirpitibus depredare totam Apuliam Calabriamque ac pedetentim Salernum ac Beneventum depopulare initiarunt. Tunc iterum suggestum est lamentabili supplicatione iam saepe dicto piissimo augusto per Bassacium venerabilem virum, [852] beati Benedicti vicarium, et per Iacobum, Sancti Vincentii abbatem, ut properare quantocius dignaretur et suo adventu eriperet, quos ante iam misericorditer redemerat. 'Et simus', inquiunt, 'fidissimi famulis illius, constituatque nos subesse cuilibet ultimo suorum'! Qui sine mora veniens, cum incredibili multitudine Varim perrexit. Set pro omnibus obliti Capuani suam ultroneam sponsionem, urbibus se recondentes, Landulfum tantum antistitem vice sua illuc destinarunt. Videns autem supradictus cesar et illorum fallaciam et se nil proficere, sine emolumento recedens abiit; concesso principato Salernitano Ademario, [854] fortissimo et illustre viro, Siconolfi filium exulem fecit. Interea obiit Radelgarius Benevento; cui successit germanus eius nomine Adelchis, vir quippe mitissimus et amabilis cunctis tantaque mansuetudinis, ut etiam ab exteris diligeretur. Set, quod peius, provincia in multis divisa ad exitium magis quam ad salutem de die in diem a dominatoribus ducebatur.

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bringing about this agreement, rather than Louis's influence; L'emirato di Bari, 36-37.

<sup>300</sup> The infant Sico was entrusted to his god-father Peter, according to the Chron. Sal., was later sent to Louis for education, and at his return as a youth, was killed by Peter's followers to further the ambitions of Peter and his son, Ademarius; ch's 92-94; Erchempert's more contemporary account (here and in ch's 20 and 23) is perhaps more reliable.

<sup>301</sup> Radelgarius ruled 851-853.

20. Throughout that time the Agareni living at Bari began to lay waste and thoroughly plunder all of Apulia and Calabria and began step by step to ravage Salerno and Benevento. Then once more it was suggested in mournful [852] supplication to the most pious emperor, through the venerable Bassacius, vicar of the blessed Benedict, and through Jacob, abbot of Saint Vincent, that he should hasten as quickly as possible to rescue those whom he had mercifully redeemed earlier. "And may we be," they said, "most faithful as his servants, and may it be agreed that we will submit to the most lowly of his men!" Coming without delay, the emperor proceeded to Bari with an unbelievable multitude. But the Capuans, having forgotten their past promise on behalf of all and hiding themselves in their cities, merely sent the priest Landolf to him in their place. The emperor now saw their deception and that he could accomplish nothing, and he went away without profit; after granting the rulership of Salerno to Ademarius, a [854] strong and distinguished man, he sent the son of Siconolf into exile.<sup>302</sup> Meanwhile Radelgarius died at Benevento; his brother by the name of Adelchis succeeded

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<sup>302</sup> Louis's interference at Salerno (in establishing Ademarius as ruler) and well-intentioned but resented efforts elsewhere to maintain his rule in Southern Italy resulted in what Kreutz sees as his "politics of failure;" summaries of period in Before the Normans, 37-47, and Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 60-63.

him,<sup>303</sup> a very mild and lovable man of such gentleness to all, that he was loved even by foreigners. But unfortunately, since the province had been apportioned among many, he was drawn by the lords from day to day toward ruin more than to prosperity.

[843] 21. Subtracto vero ex hac luce Landulfo Capuano comite, ut post tergum redeam, quatuor reliquid liberos, Landonem videlicet iam fatum virum, Pandonem, Landonolfum et Landolfum, futurum pontificem, viros singularis prudentia virtutisque efficacitā valde compotes; ex quibus Lando Capuam, Pando marepahissatum, Landonolfus Teanum regebat, Landolfus vero adhuc adolescens palatinis excubabat obsequiis. Hic autem novissimus, ut post in patulo claruit, cum adhuc viscere gestaretur genitricis, eadem mater, cum se quadam die sopori iuxta viri dorsum dedisset, facem igneam peperisse visum experta est. Quae fax cum humi solo cecidisset, in maximum ignis globum aucta est, visaque est totius Beneventi confinium concremare, sicque cum sompno pariter et visio elapsa est. Quae nimium perterrita, proprio mox coniugi moesta curavit indicare. Cuius visionis finem genitor ut audivit, in paucis sillabarum dictionibus futura eius dira opera complexus est, dicens:

'Heu me, dulcis amans, quae nos tunc fata secuntur;  
 Augurium saevum monstrat tua visio dira!  
 Hac tuus hic ortus tegitur qui clausus in alvo,  
 Diliget aut ullum spernetque sanguine caros,  
 Postremo cives viperino devoret ore,  
 Ac velud ignis edax rectorum pectora buret'.

Quod ille in extasi mentis licet predixerit, nos quoque propriis intuiti sumus optutibus, qui innumerabiles insontes homines illius facto conspeximus pro igne gladiis corruiſſe. Ignis itaque ille ipsum humani generis sanguinem, qui postea eo operante fundendus erat, sub quadam ymaginis specie portendebat. Quod ne cui incredibile hoc aut ymaginarie forte confictum videatur, tot mihi testes sunt quot pene homines versantur in urbe. Huius enim actio finisque exitus in subsequenti propalabitur.

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<sup>303</sup> Adelchis: Prince of Benevento 853-878, last Lombard prince to enact laws (Capitula domni Adelchis principis; found in MGH, Leges, IV, 210-12).



[843] 21. After Landulf, the count of Capua, had withdrawn from this life, if I may turn back, he left four sons, Lando, Pando, Landonolf, and Landolf, the future pontiff, all exceptionally skilled and courageous, of whom Lando ruled at Capua, Pando was a military commander,<sup>304</sup> Landonolf ruled at Teano, but Landulf, still a youth, was serving among the guards at the palace.<sup>305</sup> Now he was the youngest, and as it later became widely known, when he was still being carried in his mother's womb, the mother herself, when she had fallen asleep on a certain day next to her husband, experienced a vision that she had given birth to a fiery meteor. This meteor, when it had fallen to the ground, was increased into a great ball of fire, and all within the boundary of Benevento seemed to burn, and then sleep and vision together slipped away. Terrified, she took pains to tell her husband of her sorrows. When the father had heard the end of this vision, he explained the child's fearful future deeds in a brief written composition, saying:

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<sup>304</sup> Marepahissatum, suggesting origin of term marshalship or role as military commander: from early Lombard usage, mar, märe, horse, and paizan, to put on the bit; marpahis used by Paul the Deacon in his History of the Langobards, II, ix; discussion in Foulke's n. 2, 66, and Hodgkin VI, 42 and n. 2.

<sup>305</sup> Poupardin notes that young nobles served apprenticeships at the courts of Benevento and Salerno, a practice found also among Frankish lords at this time; Les institutions politiques, 23 and n's 5 and 6.

"Woe is me, sweet love, what misfortunes then follow  
 us;  
 Your fearful vision makes known a cruel prophecy!  
 In this way what you are giving birth to, herein hidden  
 and enclosed in the womb,  
 May by no means love and may reject any dear by  
 blood,  
 Finally he may devour the citizens with the mouth of a  
 viper,  
 And as a gluttonous fire burn up the hearts of the  
 rulers."

Although he predicted this in the ecstasy of his mind, we  
 have also seen it with our own gaze and have observed  
 countless innocent men fallen before the fire by sword  
 through Landulf's deeds. Therefore that fire portended in  
 its appearance the very blood of the human race, which would  
 be spilled out afterwards by Landulf's doing. This should  
 not seem unbelievable nor too fanciful to anyone, as I have  
 almost as many witnesses as there are men living in the  
 city. Truly Landulf's action and departure at the end will  
 be demonstrated in the following passages.

22. Horum denique genitor cum iam diei ultimae  
 appropinquaret, ut a referentibus audivi, vocatis liberis  
 suis, hoc in edictum illis tradidit, ne umquam, quantum ad  
 se pertineret, sinerent Beneventum cum Salerno pacisci:  
 'quia non erit', inquit, 'vobis profuturum'. Cuius monitum  
 filii audientes, opere pariter patrarunt atque suis  
 heredibus in ius perpetuum sicut a patre susceperant  
 reliquerunt. Magnum sane hereditarium suae reliquerunt  
 soboli, adversus divinum dumtaxat preceptum gerentes, quod  
 ait Iesus discipulis suis: 'Pacem meam do vobis, pacem  
 relinquo vobis'. Accepto itaque iure regnandi, [nullo] modo  
 Siconolfo obsecuntur, parvipendunt imperiis eius; set pre  
 omnibus Landonolfus contrarius illi semper et ingratus  
 extitit, adeo ut etiam filio illius natam suam necessitate  
 ductus arraret. Hoc autem tempore Paulinus, Deo dignus et  
 carus vir, Capuae presul, ab hac carnea subtractus est  
 faece, atque Landone supradicto viro viriliter decertante,  
 Landolfum, fratrem suum, episcopum ordinavit; set incongruam

vicissitudinem filiis eius post patris intulit obitum, quos velud durissimos hostes vario ac perpetuo multavit exilio.

22. Finally their father, when he was now approaching his last day (as I have heard from reports) summoned his sons and handed over this edict to them, that they should at no time allow Benevento to make an agreement with Salerno, if it was in their power, "because it will not," he said, "be of any benefit to you." Attending to his warning, his sons together carried out this policy and left the matter to their heirs as a perpetual duty just as they received it from their father. They surely left their offspring a great inheritance, carrying on against the divine precept in which Jesus said to his disciples: "My peace I give to you, peace I leave with you."<sup>306</sup> After they received the rulership, in no way did they obey Siconolf, little weighing his authority; but Landonolf was always more contrary and disagreeable to him compared with the rest, so that forced by necessity he even had to engage his own daughter to be married to Siconolf's son. Now at this time, Paulinus, worthy bishop of Capua and beloved of God, withdrew from the sediment of this flesh, and Lando decided the issue forcefully by ordaining his own brother Landolf as bishop. But Landolf reciprocated unsuitably with Lando's sons after the death of their father, for he punished them as harshest

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<sup>306</sup> John 14:27.

enemies by different and perpetual exiles.

[851] 23. Mortuo itaque Siconolfo, ut unusquisque quod sibi habile videretur ageret, filium eius adhuc anno carente loco eius subrogarunt. Tunc coeperunt predicti fratres concives suos, partim ambitu partim metu agitati, ferina persequi ingluvie et custodiis mancipari. Quam ob rem et a Pandulfo consanguineo suo Suessulam ingenio auferentes, suae ambitioni nexerunt, ipsum et liberos illius extorres fecerunt, de quibus dehinc unum gladium, alium igne perdiderunt, duosque superstites iugi continuoque dampnarunt exilio. Suessulam autem postea a Landolfo, Landonis filio, captam, annitente sibi Sergio magistro militum, quia socer erat illius, nunc usque retinet eam.

[851] 23. After Siconolf died, since everyone was pushing himself forward feeling he was suitable for the rule, they proposed Siconolf's son, still lacking in years, as his successor. Then the brothers at Capua began to pursue their fellow-citizens with ferocious gluttony, partly through bribery, partly through fear, and to deliver them up into custody. They took Suessula<sup>307</sup> away from Pandulf, a man of ability and their own kinsman, connecting it to their own ambition, and sent Pandulf and his sons into exile, one of whom they then destroyed by sword, another by fire, and the surviving two they condemned to subjugation and to perpetual exile. Suessula was captured afterwards by Lando's son Landolf (who possesses it even up to the present), with the

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<sup>307</sup> Suessula: southeast of Capua; Waitz identifies as Castello di Sessola; n. 2, 245.

help of Sergius, the master of the army,<sup>308</sup> because he was Landolf's father-in-law.

[856] 24. Hac tempestate, casu an iudicio superno actum sit, tota urbs Sicopolis igne cremata est, ita ut ne una domus remaneret inusta preter episcopalis aula; qua reperta occasione, Landulfus presul et Landonolfus, germanus eius, consilio inierunt, ut, deserta angusti montis cohabitatione, ad plana et preclara canpestria descenderent ad commanendum. 'Non sumus', inquiunt, 'caprearum hovile, ut in saxorum cavernis tueamur, ad humiliaque denique descendamus, ut altos nos et inhumiles circumspicientibus prebeamus'! Quibus tunc adsensum Lando minime prebuit, quia delirum ac fribolum erat, inter tot procellas urbem munitissimam deserentes, ut suillo coeno locarent.

[856] 24. At this time, by chance or by celestial decree, it happened that the whole city of Sicopolis<sup>309</sup> was burned by fire, so that not one house remained beyond the burnt bishop's palace; when this was reported, the bishop Landulf and his brother Landonolf entered upon a plan, that they would desert their home in the confining mountain and descend to the level and beautiful plain to live. "We do not belong," they said, "in a homestead for antelope, that we should keep watch in caverns of rock and should fall thereafter to humble status, but we should show ourselves to

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<sup>308</sup> Sergius had been brought in from Cumae as magister militum at Naples in 839, became allied with Siconolf, and as duke of Naples founded a dynasty there; Gesta Epis.Neap., ch. 57.

<sup>309</sup> Fortress to which Capua had been evacuated c. 841; see ch. 15.

those around us as high and not humble!" Lando<sup>310</sup> at that time could scarcely give them his consent, because he was in his dotage and pitiful, so that abandoning their highly fortified city in the midst of so much commotion, they could settle in the filth of swine.

25. Hiis invicem ita altercantibus, duo predicti viri coeperunt hedificare murum supra pontem qui vulgo Casilinum dicitur; quorum opera ut perspexit Lando, inchoavit ac mirifice perfecit hedificandam urbem. Ut autem munita est et habitari coepta, supervenit Guido iam dicto cum universis [858] Tuscis et obsedit eam hinc et inde graviterque angustiavit, quia nolebant subici Ademario iam fato viro ob improvitatem Landolfi presulis et Landonolfi, quoniam illum pre ceteris affectu favebat fraterno, aliis quasi exteris spretis. Dum enim valide intus affligerentur cotidiana pugna et foris sata delerentur, tandem robore et violentia devicti, colla subdiderunt famulatui, excepto Landonolfus; quam ob rem Suram, cuncta oppida confinia a Landonolfo domino subtracta et Guidoni sunt tradita, sicut promissum fuerat. Quo facto, in tantam animi tristitiam corruit predictus vir, ut in proximo spiritum exalaverit.

25. Quarreling by turns with one another, the two men began to build a wall above the bridge which is commonly called Casilinum;<sup>311</sup> when Lando observed their work, he began the city which needed to be built (the new Capua) and completed it admirably. As it had now been fortified and

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<sup>310</sup> Lando I, the oldest brother, count of Capua 843-860; see Appendix for genealogical table of the Capuan dynasty.

<sup>311</sup> Casilinum: ancient city noted for heroic defense against Hannibal in 216 B.C., deserted in second century A.D. and in ruins when new Capua founded there; Pin notes that the Roman bridge there was destroyed in 1943; n. 33, 241.

[858] had begun to be inhabited, Guido<sup>312</sup> arrived suddenly with all of the Tuscans and besieged it from this side and that and seriously constricted it, because they were unwilling (due to the heedlessness of the bishop Landolf and Landonolf) to be subjected to Ademarius,<sup>313</sup> for whom Guido felt brotherly affection, scorning the others as foreigners. When daily battles had greatly weakened them within and they were quite destroyed from without, after being conquered at last by power and violence they put themselves under subjection, except for Landonolf. For this reason all of the adjoining settlements at Sura<sup>314</sup> were taken away from Landonolf's authority and handed over as promised to Guido. After this was done, Landonolf collapsed in such dejection of spirit that he soon died.

26. Per idem tempus veterem inimicitiam vindicare volens Ademarius, filium Marini Malfitani, cognatum videlicet Pandonis, dolo cepit et Sergio magistrum militum, cum quo foedus inierat, exulem tradidit; qua pro causa ab eodem Sergio etiam Marinus fraude captus est. Hinc etenim aeternum iurgium inter Ademarium et Pandonem ortum est. Unde factum est, ut, inscio Landone, Landulfus episcopus et Pando suaserint Guaiferio, filio Dauferii Balvi, et fecerunt apprehendere Ademarium principem, et  
[861] Guaiferium sponte sibi seniore elegerunt, iurantes ei gravi sacramento; set ocus ad consueta vitia defluentes,

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<sup>312</sup> Guido, duke of Spoleto, who as Louis II's supporter would not welcome a new fortified city which was apparently bent on autonomy.

<sup>313</sup> Ademarius, their rightful overlord, who had been appointed ruler at Salerno in 854 by Louis after Siconolf's death.

<sup>314</sup> Sura: evidently Sora, on the northwestern edge of Capua's territory in the descending valley of the Liri river.

et huic statim post excessum Landonis, soceri illius, mentiti.

26. During the same period, Ademarius, wishing to avenge an ancient feud, seized by guile the son of Marinus of Amalfi, a relative of Pando, and handed him over as an exile to Sergius, master of the army, with whom he had entered an alliance; for this reason Marinus was also deceitfully captured by Sergius. From this source a lasting quarrel arose between Ademarius and Pando. From whence it happened, that, unknown to Lando, the bishop Landulf and Pando persuaded Guaiferius, son of Dauferius of Balbi, to [861] seize the ruler Ademarius, and they voluntarily chose Guaiferius as their lord, swearing to him with a grave oath of allegiance; but rather quickly falling to their customary vices, they were false to this oath immediately after the death of Lando, Guaiferius's father-in-law.

[859] 27. Mortuo denique Landonolfo, non multum post Landonem dira paralisi percutitur, lectum per annum integrum fessus detinebatur. Hoc agnito, Sergius magister militum presidiis illectus Ademarii, ut priora replicem, dirrupit iuramentum, quod cum Landone pactum fuerat, et adversus filium illius bellum excitavit. Nam octavo Ydus Maias, quo [May 8] beati Michahelis archangeli sollempnia nos sollempniter celebramus, quo etiam die priscis temporibus a Beneventanorum populis Neapolites fortiter caesos legimus, hac ergo die, nullum honorem dans Deo, misit duos liberos suos, Gregorium magistrum militum et Cesarium, necnon et Landulfum, generum suum, Suessulanum, cum quibus Neapolitum et Malfitanorum exercitum tam pedestrem quam et equitum pene ad septem milia viros misit, dans ei in preceptum, ut Capuam obsideret. Quibus audacter occurrit ceu leo fervidus Lando iunior, repperitque eos transvadatos pontem Teodemundi, suos acriter expugnantes; totis viris super eos irruit, atque



cuneum eorum scindens, gladiis ventilavit, captumque Cesarium et ferme octingentos alios, reliquos in fugam vertit; sicque triumphans reversus est; Pando autem, illius avunculus, Ademarii metuens adventum, ad monumentum quondam Trasarici interim observabat excubias. Post haec Pando, erepto Marino vinculis, Cesarium cum universis libertati restituit.

[859] 27. After Landonolf finally died,<sup>315</sup> not much later Lando<sup>316</sup> was stricken with a terrible paralysis and was confined to his bed with fatigue for a whole year. Sergius, master of the army, became aware of this and, enticed by the troops of Ademarius, broke his oath with which he had formed an alliance with Lando and raised a war against Lando's son.

[May 8] Now on the eighth day before the Ides of May, on which we solemnly celebrate the ceremonies of the blessed archangel Michael, and on which in earlier times we read that the Neapolitans were boldly killed by the people of Benevento,<sup>317</sup> on precisely this day, giving no honor to God, Sergius sent his two sons, Gregory, master of the soldiers, and Cesar, and also his son-in-law Landulf, to Suessula. He sent with them an army of Neapolitans and Amalfitans numbering almost seven thousand men, with as many

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<sup>315</sup> Landonolf: next to youngest of Landulf's four sons; ruled at Teano (ch. 21) and later Sora, which he lost to Guido of Spoleto (ch. 25).

<sup>316</sup> Lando I, the eldest of the four sons.

<sup>317</sup> Erchempert seems to be referring to Paul the Deacon's account (History, IV, xlvi) of Grimuald (duke of Benevento 647-662), who destroyed a Greek force which was plundering the sanctuary of St. Michael on Mount Garganus (Gargano).

foot-soldiers as horsemen, ordering them to besiege Capua. Lando the younger ran boldly to meet them like a raging lion and discovered them rushing across the bridge at Teodemundus,<sup>318</sup> fiercely attacking his own followers; he rushed in upon them with all of his men, and splitting their wedge formation, he "fanned the air" with swords; after he captured Cesar and almost eight hundred others, he put the rest to flight and thus returned triumphant. But Pando, his uncle, fearing the arrival of Ademarius, meanwhile set up a watch at the former monument (amphitheater) at Trasaricus.<sup>319</sup> After these events, Pando rescued Marinus from his chains and restored Cesar to freedom together with the rest.

[860] 28. Hiis quoque diebus Lando senior, crescente interim langore, ad extrema perductus est, vocatisque duobus fratribus suis, Pando scilicet et Landolfo antistite, Landonem, filium suum, eis supplici prece commendare studuit atque in manus eorum tradidit, dicens: 'Teste Deo sanctaque eius ecclesia vobis eum commendo, ut eodem in iudicio futuro iudicemini, quo eo in presenti abusi fueritis'! Sicque humanum faciens obiit. Quo migrato, non diu ad iuramentum perstitit fraternum. Nam subdole pro cupiditate castaldatus et Landonem et ceteros fratres urbe repulerunt, et a Guaiferio alienati sunt, cui sacramenta recentia dederant, precipue Landolfus per euangelia missarumque sollempnia necnon et per manus sacratas suas ille non semel iuraverat. Hoc facto, Lando Caiazie ingressus est, capto in ea Aioaldo, qui a predictis viris eam ad custodiendum fuerat directus. Eodem igitur tempore Landolfus, frater Landonis, Casam Irtam cepit; set superveniens Pando, cepit eum cum 40 primoribus;

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<sup>318</sup> Teodemundus: Waitz (n. 6, 244) says nothing now remains of this place.

<sup>319</sup> Trasaricus has also left no trace in the records; Waitz, n. 8, 244.

quibus redditis, castrum Caiazie recepit; et receptis filiis Landonis a Guaiferio et Landolfo, fratre eorum, in Suessulam. Quibus exterminatis, minime quievit eorum rabies, set coeperunt eos persequi iugiter, etiam terminos Suessulam expugnantes. Hos siquidem Guaiferius princeps non segniter adiuuabat, et multociens locum cedebat eis, nolens frustra christicolum fundere cruorem. Set Landolfus presul non hoc religionis gratia set imbecillitati deputans, vi suum germanum contra christum Domini pugnare cogebat. Fretus ergo filiorum trium, Maionis et Maienolfi necnon et Radelgisi, filii Adelgisi Benevantani principis, eum adversum iam dictum principem suum misit; set iusto Dei iudicio, a quo omnis potestas et ordinatio consistit, ipse primus occubuit; nonnullis ex eis capti, reliqui autem fugati sunt.

[860] 28. The lord Lando, whose weakness had meanwhile increased, was brought to his last days at that time. After his two brothers, Pando and Landolf, had been summoned, he was anxious to commend his son Lando to them with a prayer of supplication, and deliver him into their hands, saying: "With God and his holy church as witness, I commend him to you, that you may be judged on judgment day as to the way in which you make use of him at the present time!" And thus fulfilling his humanity, he died. After his passing, the fraternal oath did not last long. For on behalf of their ambition to rule, they cunningly drove away Lando and the other brothers from the city, and became estranged from Guaiferius, to whom they had given recent oaths of loyalty, especially Landulf, who had sworn more than once by the gospels and rites of the mass and also by his consecrated hands. After this was done, Lando marched into Caiazzo<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Caiazzo: between Sepino and Benevento.

and captured Aioaldus, who had been sent there by Pando and Landolf to keep watch. At the same time Landolf, Lando's brother, seized Casa Irta;<sup>321</sup> but Pando [their uncle] arrived suddenly and seized Landolf with forty nobles; after they had surrendered, he took back the fort at Caiazzo; and Lando's sons were received by Guaiferius and their cousin Landolf at Suessula. After being driven out, their fury scarcely abated, and they began to pursue Pando's forces constantly, even attacking the borders of Suessula. In fact Guaiferius promptly helped them and gave up many hundreds of places to them, being unwilling to shed the blood of Christians in vain. But the bishop Landolf considered this not as the grace of religion but as weakness, and compelled his brother Pando to fight against Christ the Lord. Strengthened by Maionus, Maienolfus, and Radelgis, the three sons of Adelchis, ruler of the Beneventans, Landolf sent Pando against Guaiferius; but by God's righteous judgment, on whom all power and order rests, Pando himself was the first to die; after some of his men were captured, the rest were put to flight.

[860?] 29. Inter haec Saugdan nequissimus ac sceleratissimus rex Hismahelitum totam terram Beneventanam igne, gladiis et captivitate crudeliter devastabat, ita ut non remaneret in ea alitus. Quam ob rem et Gallorum exercitus crebrius adveniens eorum efferitatem opprimendam, set nil proficiens, via qua venerat repedabat. Unde factum

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<sup>321</sup> Casa Irta: Caserta Vecchia today, ten kilometers northeast of present Caserta.

est, ut Adelgisum Beneventi principem, coactata pensione et obsidibus, pacem eo firmaret. Quo tempore Maielpotus Telesinus et Guandelepert Bovianensis casteldei multa cum prece conduxerunt Lambertum ducem Spolitensium et Garardum comitem, et obviantes eidem Saugdan, cum de Capuae depopulatione reverteretur, in Arvium tellure irruerunt super eum; set exurgens iam dictus vir, et super Beneventanos et Francos fortiter se iniecit, ac dirructis cuneis, plurimos eorum interemit, nonnullos cepit et crudeliter extinxit. Garardus vero comes, Maielpotus et Guandelpertus, supra dicti viri, eadem in acie tunc occubuerunt. Qua de re audaciam ex illo die potiore sumens, Beneventum eiusque confinia funditus delevit, ita ut nullus locus preter urbes precipuas eius efferitati evaderet. Quibus diebus et castrum Benafranum cepit et coenobium sancti Vincentii martiris depredavit et pro hedificiis non combustis tres milia aureos accepit. Hoc facto, et a vicario beati Benedicti totidem nummos accepit.

[860?] 29. During this time, Saugdan (Sawdân)<sup>322</sup> most worthless and wicked king of the Ismaelites, cruelly laid waste the whole land of Benevento by fire, sword and captivity, so that no means of sustenance remained there. Because of this the army of the Franks approached rapidly in order to crush their wildness, but achieving nothing, went back along the road by which they had come. From whence it happened that Adelchis, ruler of Benevento, forced by payments and sieges, needed to establish peace there. At this time, the gastalds Maielpotus of Telesia and

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<sup>322</sup> Saugdan: Sawdân, third emir of Bari, 857-865; formerly thought to be a title of dignity on the basis of Latin sources, according to Musca, but after discovery of the text of Al Balâdurî, now believed to be a name; L'emirato, 59 and n. 2.

Guandelepert of Bovianum<sup>323</sup> hired at great price Lambert, duke of Spoleto, and count Garardus;<sup>324</sup> meeting Sawdân when he was returning from ravaging Capua, they rushed in upon him in the countryside near Ariano.<sup>325</sup> But Sawdân recovered and threw himself vigorously against the Beneventans and the Franks, and bursting apart their wedge formation, destroyed a great many of them and captured some, cruelly killing them. Indeed count Garardus, Maielpotus, and Guandelpert fell in the same battle at that time. Because of this Sawdân grew bolder from that day and utterly destroyed Benevento and its territories, so that no place except the principal cities could escape his savagery. At that time he also seized the fort of Venafrum<sup>326</sup> and laid waste the monastery of the holy martyr Vincent and received three thousand aureos (gold pieces) in exchange for buildings he did not burn. This done, he also received the same number of nummis from the vicar of the blessed Benedict.

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<sup>323</sup> Telesia: northwest of Benevento, near the junction of the Calor and Volturnus rivers; Bovianum (now Boiano) in the mountainous Matese region, formerly one of the main centers of the Samnites.

<sup>324</sup> Garardus: count of the Marsi (people of Latium) according to the Chron. Vult.; Waitz, n. 5, 245.

<sup>325</sup> Arvium tellure: Musca identifies this as Ariano, to the northeast of Benevento; L'emirato, 61-62.

<sup>326</sup> castrum Benafranum: Venafrum, now Venafro.

[862] 30. Mortuo denique Pandone, Landolfus episcopus solus superstes remansit; qui Pandonolfum, nepotem suum, vice patris sui Pandonis comitem in Capuam constituit, qui vulneratus ex prelio pro genitor occubuerat semivivus evaserat. Hic autem in familiaritate sua habebat Dauferium, cognatum Maionis; cuius versutias metuens Landulfus presul, monuit Pandonulfum, ut, dato ei adiutorio, alibi eum ad commanendum destinaret; qui nolens illius consilio acquiescere, clam egressi tres germani ex urbe Potensi cum eodem Dauferio castella invasere; nam Pandonulfus Suessulam, Landulfus autem Casam Irtam, Landonulfus Caiazie, ab illius genitore castrum iam dudum quassatum, intraverunt, et coeperunt depredare omnia in circuitu. Quos Landulfus ingenio decepit simulque Guaiferium et Adalgisum principes delusit, necnon et Landonis filios, nepotes suos, quos iam pridie extorres fecerat a solo proprio, dolo evocavit, fratrumque suorum confinia depredare fecitque succendi; dumque cotidie Capuae ruina excresceret, hortatus est idem vir filios Pandonis: cum filiis Landonis nexu foedere, utrique urbem introierunt ad commanendum. At illi ex diverso in unum coeuntes, sacramento iuncti sunt adieruntque urbem; quos statim predictus vir arte sua fefellit et periurare fecit, illisque divisus, mentitus est. Qua pro causa etiam Pandonulfus ad imperialem celsitudinem misit; epistolis ac iussionibus ablati, in urbe memorata non est ingressus, quousque veniret Lodogicus piissimus augustus, a multis per varia tempora invitatus.

[862] 30. After Pando finally died, only the bishop Landulf still remained alive; he established his nephew Pandonolf as count of Capua in place of his father Pando; Pandonolf had escaped, wounded and half dead, from the battle where his father died. Now Pandonolf had among his intimates Dauferius, a relative of Maionis, whose craftiness the bishop Landulf feared, and he warned Pandonulf that since he had given him help, Pandonulf should send Dauferius elsewhere to live. As Pandonulf was unwilling to agree to his advice, the three brothers secretly left the city of

Potensi<sup>327</sup> with the same Dauferius to attack fortresses. Now Pandonulf entered Suessula, and Landulf Caserta, and Landonulf Caiazzo, a fort his father had just a short time ago dismantled, and they began to lay waste everything in their path. Landulf deceived them with cleverness and at the same time deluded the rulers Guaiferius and Adelchis, and he also summoned with guile his nephews, Lando's sons, whom he had earlier sent as exiles from their own country, and caused them to lay waste and burn their cousins' territory. And while the destruction of Capua grew daily, Landulf urged on Pando's sons; he contrived an alliance with Lando's sons and they both entered the city to live there. Then Pando's sons, coming together from different directions, were united in an oath of allegiance and approached the city; Landulf immediately beguiled them with his cunning and caused them to perjure themselves, and having divided them, broke faith with them. For this reason Pandonulf sent word to the emperor;<sup>328</sup> even after letters and entreaties had been sent, he had not entered Capua; how

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<sup>327</sup> Urbe Potensi: uncertain location, but a Vietra di Potenza is listed in the twelfth-century Catalogus Baronum under feudal holdings in the Principality of Salerno; Catalogus Baronum, ed. Evelyn Jamison (Roma: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1972), no. 477, 90; perhaps related also to the Vietri of Erchempert's Hist., ch. 7.

<sup>328</sup> Louis II, at Rome during this time, was being urgently pressed for help in this civil war, as he had been earlier during the Islamic invasion of the 850s (ch. 20); Gay notes problems with the papacy and worries elsewhere which distract Louis from his campaigns in Southern Italy; L'Italie méridionale, I, 71.



long would it be before the most pious emperor Louis would come, after he had been summoned by many at various times.

31. Fuit autem idem Landolfus, ut pollicitus inseram, ex natura prudens, set ex consuetudine callidus, lubricus nimium et petulans, ambitiosior omni homine, elatus supra quam credi potest, monachorum quoque infestor et predator, de quibus in tribunal tumidus sedens solitus erat dicere circumstantibus: 'Quociens monachum visu cerno, semper mihi futura dies auspicia tristitia subministrat'. Iusto valde iudicio Dei, ut ab hiis incommoda tolleraret, quos velud nefandissimos hostes execrabat et persequabatur, a quibus etiam in futuro torquendus erat. Principis sui quoque derisor et periurus nepotumque suorum perosor, quippe qui neminem dilexit preter suae carnis incentiva, pacem numquam, nec in die obitus sui, amplexatus est; sic ubi foederata sensit, totus se strenue iniciens, zizaniorum semina sevit. Quod si cui incredibile videtur, animavertat, quot vicibus Guaiferium fefellit, cui per ter iuravit ipsumque ipse sibi principem instituit. Multo enim libentius cupiebat captivari animas hominum innocentium, quam vel parem eum abere, non dico seniore, contra preceptum apostoli gerens, qui ait: 'Subditi', inquit, 'estote omni dicioni, sive regi tanquam precellenti, sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis'; et alibi: 'Non preest potestas nisi a Deo, itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit'. His igitur, postpositas ecclesiastica dogmata iuraque episcopalia, semiviros solummodum dilexit eosque cunctis pretulit, implevit nihilominus prophetia Ysayae dicentis: 'Effeminati dominabuntur eis'. Huius enim ego facta viri minuatim explicare si voluero, facilius, ut reor, tempus absumitur, quam fandi sermo terminetur; tamen si quis medullitus nosse desiderat, versus a memet constructos requirat. Ante diem vero exitus sui Capuam trium fratrum suorum filiis ita divisit, ut omni tempore inter eos gladius rixae numquam omnimodo abesset; ut fateor, si quis corde non percipit, oculis videat.

31. Now Landulf, let me note as promised,<sup>329</sup> was by nature wise, but by habit crafty, very slippery and

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<sup>329</sup> Ch. 21, where Erchempert plans to demonstrate how Landulf's deeds fulfilled his parents' premonitions that their child would be a "fiery meteor," destroying those around him.

impudent, more ambitious than any man, more exalted than it is possible to believe, and an attacker and plunderer of monks, concerning whom he was accustomed to say to those standing around when he was sitting puffed-up in tribunal: "Whenever I catch sight of a monk, the coming day always seems gloomier to me." By the most righteous judgment of God, who would lift the troubles from these monks whom Landulf cursed and persecuted as most abominable enemies, by them also would Landulf be tormented in the future. He scoffed at his prince, broke faith and detested his own nephew, and assuredly loved no one except those who excited his own flesh; nor did he embrace peace, not even on the day of his death; thus when he sensed alliances, throwing himself in energetically, he sowed the seeds of discord. If anyone should think this unbelievable, let him realize with what unpredictability he deceived Guaiferius, to whom he had taken an oath three times, and whom he had himself established as his own prince. How often had he most willingly desired that the souls of innocent men be taken captive, rather than that he should have an equal, much less call anyone lord; he acted against the precept of the apostle, who said: "Put yourself under all authority, whether of the king on high, or of leaders sent by him;" and elsewhere: "There is no power unless from God; therefore

whoever resists power resists the command of God."<sup>330</sup>

Holding these beliefs, having disregarded ecclesiastical dogma and episcopal vows, he loved only eunuchs and gave preference to them before all others, and fulfilled the words of the prophet Isaiah: "Women rule over them."<sup>331</sup>

Indeed, if I had wished to shorten the deeds of this man so that (as I suppose) time would be spent more pleasantly, how much might I have limited my discourse; however, if anyone should desire to have more profound knowledge, let him seek the verses I have written.<sup>332</sup> Indeed before the day of his death, Landulf so divided Capua among the sons of his three brothers, that at all times the sword of discord was never completely absent among them; as I bear witness, if anyone has not understood with his heart, let him see with his eyes.

[866] 32. Invitatus itaque Lodoguicus cesar, ut predixi, in commune a Beneventanis, Capuanis cunctisque cummarcanis ad tuitionem perditae patriae--a Guaiferio minime hoc, quia pro Ademari captione execrabatur--, Beneventi fines per Suram ingreditur atque prius monasterio Benedicti beati applicuit; quo ad eum legati de diversis urbibus venerunt; inter quos Landulfus iam dictus et nepotes sui ex diverso venerunt. Susceptis igitur augustis, hoc est vir et coniux, a Berthario venerabili abbate officiosissime, Landulfus ad

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<sup>330</sup> Passages identified by Waitz (marginal notes, 246), from I Peter 2:13-14 and Romans 13:1-2, respectively.

<sup>331</sup> Isaiah 3:12.

<sup>332</sup> Westerbergh points to this passage as evidence that Erchempert's literary activity included poetry, and regrets that "this libellous poem has not been preserved;" Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry, 20.

solitam vergens fallaciam, Capuanos, quos cesari presentaverat, fugere compulit; ipse solus cum eo remansit, quasi satisfaciens, se nil culpabile penes eum gessisse. Predictus itaque augustus Landulfum tunc pro nihilo ducens, Capuam adiit obsessamque tribus hinc inde [mensibus] funditus delevit; et cum civibus illius quodcumque placitum dare nollet, Lamberto, comiti illius, se tradiderunt; putantes se facere rectius, pessime corruerunt. Unde postea pro nihilo ducti, omni fere mense diversis iudiciis dabantur in predam. Hoc quoque ita peracto, Guaiferio omni sine sponsione prius Salernum, et sic demum ab Adelchiso Beneventum exceptus est.

[866] 32. And so the emperor Louis was summoned for a common end, as I said earlier, by the Beneventans and all of the Capuans and dwellers of the border land, for the protection of their wretched country--Guaiferius scarcely being part of this, because he had been cursed on account of his capture of Ademarius. The emperor entered the borders of Benevento through Sura (Sora) and arrived first at the monastery of the blessed Benedict;<sup>333</sup> ambassadors from the various cities came to him there, among whom Landulf and his nephews came from different directions. After the imperial couple had been received most courteously by the venerable abbot Bertharius, Landulf, inclining to his usual deception, forced the Capuans (whom he had presented to the emperor) to flee; he himself alone remained with him, as though making amends that he was behaving blamelessly in remaining with him. Thus the emperor, dealing with Landulf to no avail at that time, went to the besieged Capua and utterly destroyed

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<sup>333</sup> This visit is described in Chron. S. Ben. Cas., ch. 4.

it from this side and that for three months; and when he was unwilling to be reconciled whatsoever with the citizens of that city, they handed themselves over to Lambert, the emperor's count;<sup>334</sup> thinking that they were acting more correctly, they fell all the more ruinously. When later they had achieved nothing, all in scarcely a month were given to various judges as property taken in war.<sup>335</sup> Thus when this had been accomplished, first Salerno was captured, since Guaiferius was without any security, and in like manner Benevento was taken at last from Adelchis.

[867] 33. Sequenti autem anno multis fultus auxiliatoribus Varim perrexit, atque cum saepe dicto Saugdane augustalis exercitus pugnam commisit; a quibus et superatus aufugiit, ammissa non modica parte bellatorum; dehinc omnia eorum circumquaque sata comburens, Materiam adiit, quam et sine mora igne cepit. Tunc venit Venusiam, castrametatusque in ea coepitque renovare, et Varim hinc et inde graviter expugnans, demolitus est; positoque presidio pugnatorum in Canusia, vicissim eos cornibus ventilabat; quo terrore perculsi, multi ad augustalem confugientes clementiam, dari sibi petebant dextras; quibus tunc solitam misericordiam [non] denegat. Post haec itum est Oeream urbem, sicque itidem reversus est Beneventum, atque annitente sibi dextera superna, cum iam ad extremitatem maximam pervenissent Saraceni, misso exercitu Varim cepit, capto in ea Saugdan effero rege cum aliis nonnullis satellitibus suis; deinde [Feb. 871] Tarantum obsidere iussit.

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<sup>334</sup> Gay says that Louis delivered Capua first to Lambert of Spoleto and later to other counts, changed quite frequently, who were to keep the inhabitants directly submitted to the emperor; *L'Italie méridionale*, I, 73.

<sup>335</sup> *Diversis iudicibus*: Cilento sees in this passage the introduction by the Franks into Capua of feudal or private jurisdiction, away from traditional Roman-Byzantine or Lombard law; *Le origini*, 172-73.

[867] 33. Now the following year the emperor proceeded to Bari, supported by many auxiliary troops, and the imperial army engaged in battle with Sawdân; after being overcome by Sawdân's forces, they fled away, losing a large part of the army. They then burned all of their crops around the area and went to Matera,<sup>336</sup> which they also captured by fire without delay. Then they came to Venosa, and after laying out their camp began to rebuild there; and attacking Bari violently from here and there, they destroyed it. A garrison of warriors had been stationed at Canosa, and they sprayed them over and over again with javelins; many fled to the emperor in terror and sought to pledge him their hands in friendship; he did not deny them his customary mercy at that time. After this they marched to the city of Oria,<sup>337</sup> and so returned in the same way to Benevento. When the Saraceni had come to their greatest extremity after losing their army, Louis's forces, with God's hand supporting them, [Feb. 871] seized Bari and captured the savage king Sawdân there with some of his other followers; Louis then ordered Taranto to be besieged.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Matera: inhabited since Paleolithic times, later a Greek settlement; on Via Appia leading to Taranto and Brindisi.

<sup>337</sup> Oria: on Via Appia between Taranto and Brindisi; beginning in ninth century a center for Jewish scholars, whose achievements are recorded in The Chronicle of Ahimaaz, tr. Marcus Salzman (New York AMS Press, 1966).

<sup>338</sup> Another contemporary account of taking of Bari found in Andreae Berg. Hist., ch. 14; the Byzantines' role under Basil I (which Andreas and Erchempert both omit) is discussed in

34. Quibus ita patratīs, ut superius promissa promam, videns diabolus suos eliminari Christoque universa restaurari, principia reCOLens et dampna inferni dolens, suo instincto coeperunt Galli graviter Beneventanos persequi ac crudeliter vexare; qua de re et Adelgisus princeps adversus Lodoguicum augustum erectus cum suis, Beneventi infra moenia degentem ac secure quiescentem astu doloso sanctissimum virum, salvatorem scilicet Beneventanae provinciae, cepit et custodiis mancipavit, bonaque eius diripiens, ditatus est, cunctosque viros exercitales spoliavit et fugere compulit et de exuviis eorum onustatus est. Impletusque est sermo Domini ex prophetia sumptus: 'Percute', inquit, 'pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis'. Consistente itaque augusto in custodia, excitavit Deus spiritum Hismaelitum eosque ab Africa regione protinus evexit, ut ulciscerentur augusti obprobrium, sicuti Filii Dei passionem Vespasianus et Titus ultimi sunt. Set defensio Domini dilatata est in annos 42, iuxta prophetiam Elisei, qui 42 pueros, a quibus illusus est, duobus ursis dedit in commestionem; huius autem contemptum nec in 40 distulit dies. Ex quo datur intelligi, qualis quantusve vir iste fuerit, qui tam cito defensus est.

34. Now that I have finished with these matters, let me tell as I promised earlier how the devil, seeing his followers eliminated and everyone restored to Christ, renewed his front lines and lamented his losses to the lower world. Through his inspiration the Franks began to gravely persecute and cruelly distress the Beneventans; because of this Adelchis rose up deceitfully against the emperor Louis with his men, seized this holy man (the apparent savior of the province of Benevento) while he was living and resting quietly within the walls of Benevento, and delivered him into custody.<sup>339</sup> It is said that Adelchis then seized his

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Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, I, 89-101.

<sup>339</sup> Andreas of Bergamo also notes the devil's role "per malos homines," whose evil counsel stirs the Beneventans to return evil for good; *Historia*, ch. 16; the *Chron. Sal.* reports that

property, plundered all of the emperor's armed freemen and compelled them to flee, and loaded himself down with their arms and clothing. And the word of God taken from prophecy was fulfilled: "Persecute the shepherd, and the sheep of his flock will be dispersed."<sup>340</sup> With the emperor in custody, God roused the spirit of the Ismaelites and immediately raised them up from Africa, so that he might avenge the disgrace of the emperor, just as Vespasian and Titus took vengeance for the passion of the Son of God. But the defense of the Lord was delayed for forty-two years,<sup>341</sup> rather like the prophecy of Elijah, who gave forty-two boys, by whom he had been ridiculed, to two bears to be eaten; however, the contempt of the emperor was not prolonged for even forty days.<sup>342</sup> From this it can be understood what sort of man and how great a man was the emperor, who was defended so quickly.

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the Lombards set fire to the palace where Louis was staying, also noting the empress Engelberga's scorn toward the Lombards, ch. 109; the Annals of St-Bertin for 871 report that Engelberga had urged Louis to send Adelchis into exile; role of bishop of Benevento in achieving their release also noted; Annals, tr. Nelson, 175-76.

<sup>340</sup> Zechariah 13:7; Waitz, 247.

<sup>341</sup> A reference to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem in 70 A.D. by Vespasian and his son Titus following a revolt against Roman rule, which Erchempert sees as punishment of the Jews for their role in Christ's death some 42 years before.

<sup>342</sup> The story of the children, who ridiculed Elisha for his bald head (forty-two of whom were then attacked by two she-bears) is found in 2 Kings 2:23-24; Erchempert seems to imply that Louis's captivity lasted scarcely forty days, during which time the African Muslims were also roused to action.



35. Absolutus autem, Domino iubente, cesar insons, statim Saraceni Salernum applicuerunt quasi 30 milia; quam graviter obsidentes, hinc et inde cuncta forinsecus [871] stirpitus deleverunt, occisis in ea innumerabilibus colonis; et depopulati sunt ex parte Neapolim, Beneventum et Capuam. Quo tempore ambo Lamberti comites augusti furorem metuentes, Beneventum recesserunt, et ab Adelgiso honorifice suscepti sunt. Quorum auxilio fretus, super Saracenorum scaram irrui et viriliter stravivit, occisis ex eis pene tribus milibus viris; quibus etiam diebus Capuani iuxta [872] Suessulam mille ex eis peremerunt. Cumque in hac obsidione prope terminaretur annus, misso exercitu iam dictus augustus per suggestionem Landulfi presulis--hoc enim solummodo memorabile bonum gessit a die ortus sui--et perdidit ex prophanis in Capua ferme novem milia viros; [873] post haec per semet ipsum dignatus est adveniret Capuam. Cuius advento cognito, Saraceni Salernum relinquentes, Calabriam adeunt eamque intra se divisam repperientes, funditus depopularunt, ita ut deserta sit veluti in diluvio. Prius enim quam fugam arriperet nefanda gens, huiusmodi signum de caelo Dominus multis ostendit: faculam igneam permaximam prepete cursu in medio navium iecit, quam mox secuta est tempestas, quae cunctas liburnas frustatim dirrupit. Guaiferius vero pro sua obsessione primum Petrum, cognatum suum, et Guaimarium, filium suum, legatos ad iam fatum augustum misit; quos ille consilio Landulfi retinuit et exilio destinavit; cuius etiam postea duos filios obsides suscepit et Langobardiam misit.

35. After the emperor had been set free at the command of the Lord, the Saraceni at once drew near Salerno with about thirty thousand soldiers; they seriously besieged the [871] city, utterly destroying everything on all sides, and killing numberless farmers there; they also destroyed parts of Naples, Benevento and Capua. At this time both count Lamberts, fearing the emperor's fury, withdrew to Benevento and were received honorably by Adelchis.<sup>343</sup> With their

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<sup>343</sup> Both count Lamberts: count of Spoleto and Lambert the Bald, count of Camerino, according to Nelson, Annals of St-Bertin, n. 15, 176; Louis II removed Lambert of Spoleto for supporting the alliance against him in 871 of Benevento, Salerno, Naples,

help, Adelchis attacked a band of Saraceni and courageously overthrew them, killing almost three thousand; during that [872] time the Capuans also killed a thousand of them near Suessula. And when nearly a year had ended during this siege, the emperor sent an army through the suggestion of the bishop Landulf--indeed, this was the only good thing he did which can be remembered from the day of his birth--and [873] it destroyed almost nine thousand of the profane forces at Capua; after this the emperor thought it worth coming to Capua himself. Learning of his approach, the Saraceni left Salerno and approached Calabria, and discovering it divided within itself, utterly destroyed it, so that it became a desert just as in the flood. In fact before that wicked people could take flight, the Lord showed to many a sign from heaven: he hurled a fiery little torch of greatest size in a swift course into the middle of their ships, very soon followed by a tempest, which broke all of the galleys into little pieces. In the face of their blockade, Guaiferius for the first time sent as ambassadors to the emperor his relative, Peter, and Guaimarius, his own son; the emperor detained them at the advice of Landulf and sent them into exile; he also later took their two sons as

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and Spoleto, replacing him with Suppo III; discussed in Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 62-63.

hostages and sent them to Langobardia.<sup>344</sup>

36. Per idem tempus iam dictus cesar Landulfum in familiaritatem alliciens, tertium in regno suo constituit; qua elatione innexus, archiepiscopatum totius Beneventi omni aviditate, et ut Capua metropolis fieret, quaesivit; set non Domino sinente, ad profectum minime pervenit. Lodoquicus autem volens Beneventum acquirere, set minime valuit, ad propria recessit, coniugem natamque suam Capuam relinquens. Qua occasione reperta, idem Landulfus Guaiferium principem, [874] cui noviter iuraverat, apprehendi fecit et in custodia detrudi; set quia non ea contigit illis quae putabant, dimissus est, et filios Landonis, Landonem scilicet et Landonulfum, cognatos suos, pro se obsides dedit. Quos secum remeans augusta detulit, Ravennam exilio reliquit; proles autem ipsius augustae Capuae remansit, illaque abeunte, non multum post genitor illius divae [875] memoriae Lodoquicus diem clausit extremum, sicque filii Guaiferi et Landonis absoluti sunt. Qui dum ad proprium solum repedassent, filios Pandonis extra urbem suam exules invenerunt, sociatique sunt illis, quorum nexione Landulfus ut intellexit, doluit, Guaiferium principem mox evocavit ad solatium suum; qui sine mora veniens, utrosque fratres subdidit famulatui illius.

36. During that time the emperor encouraged Landulf's friendship and established him third in rank in his kingdom.<sup>345</sup> Caught up by such high status, Landulf sought the archiepiscopacy of all of Benevento with great desire, so that Capua would become the metropolitan center; but

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<sup>344</sup> Langobardia: presumably northern Italy, modern Lombardy; Hodgkin felt that Langobardia and Langobardi began to be replaced by Lombardia and Lombardi no earlier than about the end of the tenth century, with Lombardia in general use as a geographical designation not before the end of the twelfth; discussion V, 174-75.

<sup>345</sup> Tertium in regno suo constituit: following Cilento's interpretation, where Louis not only offers Landulf his friendship but raises him as "il 'terzo personaggio del Regno italico;" Le origini, 108-09; similarly in Pin's translation: " . . . lo pose al terzo posto nei gradi del potere;" 211.

since God did not allow it, he had little success. Now Louis, wishing to win Benevento but having very little power to do so, left for his own land, leaving his wife and daughter at Capua. Discovering his opportunity, Landulf had [874] Guaiferius,<sup>346</sup> to whom he had recently sworn an oath of allegiance, seized and thrust into custody; but because he was not concerned there with those matters which they were considering, he was released and gave as hostages for himself his relatives, Lando's sons Lando and Landonulf. When the empress left, she took them away with her and left them in exile at Ravenna; her daughter, however, remained at Capua, and soon after her mother had gone away, her father, [875] Louis of divine memory, ended his last day,<sup>347</sup> and thus the sons of Guaiferius and Lando were released. When they went back to their own country, they discovered the exiled sons of Pando outside their own city and became allied with them; Landulf was sorry when he learned of their alliance and soon summoned Guaiferius to his aid; coming without delay, Guaiferius subjected both brothers to Landulf's service.

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<sup>346</sup> Guaiferius: ruler of Salerno; with Louis away, Landulf perhaps saw his opportunity to end once and for all Capua's status as Salerno's dependency.

<sup>347</sup> Chron. Vult. adds that Louis's death was portended by a comet, seen in the north after the seventh day of June; Waitz, n. 2, 248; Andreas of Bergamo also notes the comet in his History and gives Aug. 12 as the date of Louis's death; his account of helping to carry Louis's coffin "ad flumen Adua" (presumably the border of the episcopate of Bergamo) found in ch. 18.

37. Cur autem iam dicto augusto supradictum opprobrium Domino permittente Beneventani inferre quiverint, de multis duo inferam; primum quia veniens quodam tempore Romam, ut duos episcopos condempnatos ad pristinam reduceret dignitatem, et dum nollet ei consentiret Nicolaus papa, vir Deo plenus, secundum antiquum morem obvium ei venit candidatum sacerdotalem agmen; at ille, spreto timore Dei, fustibus clerum caedi fecit, cruces vero omniaque sacrata ministeria pedibus calcari, Romamque pene miliari spatio depredatus est vicariumque beati Petri quasi vile mancipium ab officio sui ministerii, nisi Dominus restitisset, privare voluit; secundo quia, capta Vari et Saugdan, omnium hominum flagitiosissimo, non iuxta voluntatem Domini eum protinus, [875] ut dignum erat, crudeliter interfici fecerit; oblitus videlicet, quid Samuel coram Saule de Agath pinguissimo rege Amalechitarum egerit, quomodo eum in frustra discerpi fecerit. Quemammodum etiam quidam propheta Samaria regi de quodam scelerato viro dixerit: 'Quia dimisisti', inquit, 'viri morte dignum, erit anima tua pro anima illius'.

37. Now as to why the Beneventans were able to dishonor the emperor (with God allowing it), let me introduce two among many reasons: first, because the emperor came at a certain time to Rome to reduce two condemned bishops to their former ranks, and when Pope Nicholas,<sup>348</sup> a man filled with God, refused to consent to this, a throng of guards from the papal court confronted the emperor, in accordance with ancient custom; then the emperor, scorning the fear of God, caused the clergy to be struck with cudgels, and the crosses and all of the sacred vessels trampled underfoot, and he ravaged Rome almost as a military zone and was determined to deprive the vicar of the

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<sup>348</sup> Nicholas I the Great, 858-867: noted for use of Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals to promote papal supremacy over imperial influence; excommunicated the patriarch Photius as a usurper and was excommunicated in return in 867.

blessed Peter of his ministerial office just as a common slave, had God not opposed him.<sup>349</sup> The second reason [why the Beneventans succeeded in dishonoring the emperor] was because after he captured Bari and Sawdân, most disgraceful of all men, the emperor, not heeding God's will, did not [875] cause him to be cruelly killed right away, as he deserved. He evidently forgot what Samuel did in the presence of Saul concerning Agag, the king of the Amalechites, how he caused him to be torn apart in pieces.<sup>350</sup> In the same way a certain Samaritan prophet said to the king concerning a certain wicked man: "Because you released a man deserving death, it will be your life in return for his."<sup>351</sup>

38. Dimisso igitur Adelgis Lodoquico cesare, thesaurum omne retinuit et Saugdan et Annosum necnon et Abdelbachi. Receptis etenim viribus, Saraceni in Tarantum, quos pene captos reliquerat augustum, coeperunt pedetemptim Varim et Canense territorium depredare. Quibus ter occurrit Adelgis in finibus Apuliae; quibus nil prevalens, invictus et intriumpator abscessit. Quo tempore Utmagnus, qui a

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<sup>349</sup> The Annals of St-Bertin record the deposition of the two archbishops in 863 and the attack at the tomb of St. Peter in 864, adding that a cross said to be made by St. Helena was smashed and thrown into a pool of mud; Annals, tr. Nelson, 108 and 112.

<sup>350</sup> Saul had spared Agag, contrary to God's command to destroy all of Amalek, Israel's enemy; Samuel hews Agag in pieces, and the incident marks the final break between Samuel and Saul; the story is found in I Samuel 15.

<sup>351</sup> 1 Kings 20:42; "Thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life . . ." (King James version.)

[876] Saugdan exul fuerat, ab Africa cum Annoso veniens, Tarantum intravit, rex effectus est, egressusque Beneventum graviter depredavit et Talesam et Alipham; tantaque victoria adeptus est, ut Saugdanem iam saepe dictum potestatem ab Adelgiso recolligeret; nam Annosum et Abadelbach ante apocrisarios miserat. Hoc audientes qui Varim residebant, Gregorium baiulum imperiale Grecorum, qui tunc in Odronto degebat, cum multis exercitibus asciverunt et Varim introduxerunt ob Saracenorum metum. Qui statim apprehensum gastaldeum illiusque primores Constantinopolim misit, ut quibus iureiurandum fidem dederat.

38. After he released the emperor Louis, Adelchis kept all of his treasure, along with Sawdân and Annosus and also Abdelbach. The Saraceni at Taranto, whom the emperor had almost captured but left behind, had regained their strength and began step by step to plunder Bari and the region around Canosa.<sup>352</sup> Adelchis attacked them three times within the borders of Apulia, but having no success over them withdrew unbeaten but not triumphant. During that time, Othman,<sup>353</sup> [876] because Sawdân was in exile [prison],<sup>354</sup> came from Africa with Annosus,<sup>355</sup> entered Taranto and became king, and went out and severely plundered Benevento and both Talese and Alife. Othman's victory was so great that he might have recovered Sawdân from Adelchis, and in fact had

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<sup>352</sup> Canense territorium: Musca identifies as Canosa; L'emirato, 123.

<sup>353</sup> Utmagnus: Waitz identifies as Othman; n. 3, 249.

<sup>354</sup> Waitz corrects qui a (used in Chron. Vult.) to quia, which gives sense to the passage; n. d, 249.

<sup>355</sup> This Annosus was evidently not the same as the one retained by Adelchis; Waitz, n. 4, 249.

sent Annosus and Abdelbach ahead as delegates. When those living at Bari heard of this, they associated themselves with Gregory, the imperial baiulus who was at that time living at Otranto with many soldiers, and brought them into Bari for fear of the Saraceni.<sup>356</sup> The baiulus immediately sent the apprehended gastald and his nobles to Constantinople, so that with them he could swear his loyalty with an oath.<sup>357</sup>

39. Interea ipsi Greci crebrius legatos cum scedis Benevento, Salerno et Capua dirigebant, ut ab his auxiliarentur contra Saracenos; set hi uno animo eorum spernebant flagitationes. Tunc Salernum, Neapolim, Gaietam et Amalfim pacem habentes cum Saracenis, navalibus Romam graviter angustiabant depopulatio; set cum Carlus, filius [875] Iudittae, sceptrum insigne Romam suscepisset, Lambertum ducem et Guidonem, germanum illi, Iohannis papae [876] in adiutorium dedit, cum quibus Capuam et Neapolim profectus est; Guaiferius in cunctis obtemperans, et foedus dirrupit et multos ex eis peremit. Sergius vero magister [877] militum, consilio Adelgisi et Lamberti deceptus, noluit se ab illis alienare; qui statim anathematizatus est, et cum Guaiferio belliierare coepit. Unde contigit, ut ipso octavo die anathematis 25 Neapolites milites apprehensos decollari fecit; sic enim monuerat papa. Quo etiam anathemate multatus idem Sergius, non multo post a proprio germano captus est, et Romam mittitur suffossis oculis ibique miserabiliter vitam finivit; ipse autem frater eius in loco illius se ipsum principem instituit. Adelgis vero dum castrum Trebentensem obsidem caperet, ad propriam remeans urbem, a generibus, nepotibus et amicis extinctus

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<sup>356</sup> Baiulus, evidently here an imperial governor; Otranto, a port in the far south of Apulia, had been retaken from the Muslims by a Byzantine naval force in 873; with Bari regained in 876, the Byzantines now had two key bases on the Apulian coast for a campaign to reconquer Southern Italy; discussed in Kreutz, Before the Normans, 56-57.

<sup>357</sup> Pin understands this passage as meaning that the baiulus sent the gastald and his nobles "as persons to whom he had given his commitment under oath;" (come persone alle quali aveva dato il suo impegno sotto giuramento); 213.



[878] est, et in loco eius Gaideris, filius Radelgarii, nepos extincti, ordinatus est; eiectusque est Cailo et Dauferius, generi illius. Hic etiam principare voluit, cuius cupiditate socerum suum peremit. Hic quoque susceptus est ab Athanasio episcopo et magistro militum.

39. Meanwhile the Greeks themselves frequently sent ambassadors with written instructions<sup>358</sup> to Benevento, Salerno, and Capua to get help from them against the Saraceni; but with one accord they rejected their demands. Then the people at Salerno, Naples, Gaieta, and Amalfi made peace with the Saraceni, who were gravely afflicting Rome with destruction by their ships; but when Judith's son [875] Charles [the Bald] had taken up the power at Rome,<sup>359</sup> he appointed duke Lambert and Guido his brother to [876] help Pope John, who set out with them for Capua and Naples; Guaiferius obeyed along with the others and broke his alliance and killed many from among the Saraceni.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Cum scedis: variously interpreted as charters, written instruments, or contracts granting privileges or immunities (Niermeyer); or written instructions (Ganshof); scida (scheda) comes from the Greek for a strip of papyrus bark, sheet, or leaf of paper.

<sup>359</sup> Charles the Bald: Louis's uncle, emperor 875-877; Wickham summarizes the period from 875-905 following Louis II's death with no heir as a series of "untidy civil wars" over the imperial power between opposing factions favoring French/Burgundian or German kings; Early Medieval Italy, 169.

<sup>360</sup> The ultimately unsuccessful efforts by Pope John VIII (872-882) to force the maritime powers to break their profitable alliances with the Muslims are summarized in Kreutz's sympathetic portrait, "Pope John VII: A Dream Denied," Before the Normans, 57-60; and in Gay, L'Italie méridionale, I, 114-18.

But Sergius, the master of the army,<sup>361</sup> deceived by the [877] advice of Adelchis and Lambert, was unwilling to estrange himself from the Saraceni; he was immediately excommunicated and began to make war with Guaiferius. From whence it happened, that on the very eighth day of the excommunication, he [presumably the pope] caused twenty-five captured Neapolitan soldiers to have their heads cut off; thus did the pope give clear warning. Sergius was also punished by this curse and was captured soon after by his own brother and sent to Rome with his eyes dug out, where he ended his life wretchedly; his brother now established himself as ruler in his place.<sup>362</sup> Adelchis, returning to Benevento when he was about to occupy the besieged fort of Triventi,<sup>363</sup> was killed by his sons-in-law, nephews, and [878] their friends, and his nephew Gaideris, Radelgarius's son, was appointed in his place;<sup>364</sup> his sons-in-law Dauferius and Cailus were driven out. The latter also was determined to rule and killed his own father-in-law because of his ambition. He was received by Athanasius, bishop and master of the army.

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<sup>361</sup> Sergius II, grandson of Sergius I, whose anticlerical policies are recorded in the Gesta Epis. Neap., ch. 65.

<sup>362</sup> Athanasius II, bishop and then duke of Naples, 876-98; summary of these events in Gay, L'Italie méridionale, I, 118-19.

<sup>363</sup> Triventi: uncertain location; Waitz notes possibly above Isernia; n. 12, 249.

<sup>364</sup> Gaideris: Prince of Benevento 878-881.

[879] 40. Hiis quoque diebus Landulfus iam fatus presul percussus interiit; qua die suae correctionis ab omnibus presbiteris Sancti Benedicti cavallos expectabat, ut in baratrum non absque equis rueret. Videntes autem nepotes illius depositionem, in unum collati diviserant inter se sub iureiurando Capuam aequa distributione. Pandonulfus urbem Tianensem et Casam Irtam, Lando Berelais et Suessam, alter Lando Calinum et Caiazie, Atenolfus coepit hedificare castrum in Calvo, Landulfum autem adolescentulum, Landoni filium, alii sacramento, nonnulli assensu unanimiter pontificem constituerunt; set segnitie proprii genitoris, qua naturaliter torpet, detentus, non est mox sacratus. Sacramentum autem fraternum non diu extitit illaesum; nam a 4. Ydus Martii usque 7. Ydus Madii vix perduravit. Cupiditate etenim extorti, filii Pandonis Landenulfum et Atenulfum, fratres suos, filios videlicet Landonulfi, dolo ceperunt et custodiae indiderunt, rapto ab eis Caiazie castro, quod eis sacramento sponte ipsi in sorte cesserunt.

[879] 40. At that time also the bishop Landulf was struck down and died; on the day of his correction he expected working horses from all of the priests of Saint Benedict, so that he would not fall down into the abyss without steeds.<sup>365</sup> Now his nephews, learning of his decease, came together to divide Capua equally among themselves under oath. Pandonulf received the city of Teano and Casa Irta<sup>366</sup>, Lando Berelais<sup>367</sup> and Suessa, another Lando

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<sup>365</sup> Perhaps a joke concerning Landulf's treatment of monks is intended in Erchempert's use of cavallos (Niermeyer: geldings, working horses) and equis (classical word for horses, steeds, chargers); Pin translates as cavalli (horses) and destrieri (war horses, steeds, chargers), 214.

<sup>366</sup> Pandonulf evidently also becomes count of Capua, judging from events of the following two chapters; Cilento thinks he claims a sort of "dominium eminens" or position of distinction among the heirs; Le origini, 116-17 and n. 4.

<sup>367</sup> Berelais: name by which old Capua continued to be known, from the amphitheater there, according to Cilento, L'Italia meridionale, 18.

Calinus and Caiazzo; Atenulf began to build a fort at Calvi,<sup>368</sup> and with the approval of some they unanimously established by oath Lando's son Landulf, still a youth, as bishop; but held back by the sluggishness of his own father, by which he was naturally stupified, he was not immediately ordained. Moreover the cousins' oath of allegiance did not remain intact for long, for it scarcely lasted from the fourth day before the Ides of March until the seventh before the Ides of May. Wrested away by ambition, Pando's sons deceitfully seized their cousins, Landonulf's sons Landonulf and Atenulf, and put them into custody after seizing the fort at Caiazzo from them, which they had willingly conceded to them by oath in the allotment.

41. Set, ut coepta breviter persequar, filii Landonulfi iuncti cum filiis Landonis, ad auxilium Guaiferii principis se contulerunt, a quo aliquando et tutati sunt. Similiter Pandonulfus ad eundem Guaiferium legatos cum chirographis variis misit; set ab eo minime receptus est, favens supradictis fratribus. Cernens autem predictus vir omnino se destitutum, Gaiderisum principem et Gregorium augustorum baiulum, qui tunc cum dicto Guaiferio Nola ad colloquendum in unum convenerant, ad Beneventum properabant, legatis invitabat, ut qua via primum venirent eum ad aiuvandum, et esset illis subditus. Quibus ex diverso sine mora per Caiaziam Sicopolimque adventantibus, ab occasu iuxta urbem Capuanam resederunt. Guaiferius autem econtra ab ortu solis adveniens, Berelais, hoc est amphiteatrum, peramplicuit cum suis, et vallata est civitas hostibus.

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<sup>368</sup> Calvi: Site of Atenolf's fortress from which he builds the power to defeat his rivals for control of Capua; Atenolf was the third son of Landolf I's third son, Landonolf. (See Genealogical Table of the Capuan Dynasty in Appendix.)

41. As I began briefly to relate, after Landonolf's sons united with Lando's sons, they turned to the ruler Guaiferius for help, who had once protected them.<sup>369</sup> Pandonulf likewise sent ambassadors to Guaiferius with various documents but was by no means welcomed, as Guaiferius favored the cousins. Pandonulf now perceived that he was entirely abandoned, and through ambassadors he invited Gaideris<sup>370</sup> and Gregory, the imperial baiulus, who had been meeting at Nola with Guaiferius and were hurrying to Benevento, to come on their way first to help him,<sup>371</sup> and he would now submit to them. They advanced from different directions without delay through Caiazzo and Sicopolis and settled to the west near the city of Capua. Guaiferius came from the other side, where the sun rose, and filled Berelais, which is an amphitheater, with his men, and the city was surrounded by a rampart of enemies.

42. Inter haec Pandonulfus rennuit subdi Gaideriso, sicut promiserat, renitente maxime Landone, filio Landonolfi, cognato eiusdem Gaideris. Qua de re et dictus baiolus et idem Gaideris alienati sunt ab eo; mox alii per urbem Capuanam, nonnulli lintris fluvium transierunt parte ad alteram, Guaiferio sociati sunt, et recollectis Landonulfo et Atenolfo fratribus iunctis, volentes Pandonulfum subdere Guaiferio; set non quiverunt, eo quod nolebat fratrueles suos recipere infra urbem; idcirco Guaiferio respuebatur. Cognoscentes autem supradicti viri

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<sup>369</sup> Guaiferius: ruler of Salerno, who had helped the brothers after their father's death (ch. 28).

<sup>370</sup> Gaideris: Prince of Benevento.

<sup>371</sup> Aiuvandum understood as adiuvandum.

versutias Pandonolfi, reversi sunt ad propria. Guaiferius autem tunc remansit Capua urbe. Hac quippe tempestate pene omnes Capuani illustres et omne vulgus cum uxoribus et liberis omnique cum supellectili urbe egredientes, alii filii Landonis, nonnulli autem ex eis filii Landonulfi adeserunt, factaque est inter eos valida concertatio et pessima desolatio. Nam Guaiferius hostiliter iuxta murum urbis residens, obsidebat eam; ultra fluvium vero cum Francis Lamberti comitis Landonem constituit.

42. During these events, Pandonulf refused to be subjected to Gaideris, as he had promised, resisting most particularly Landonolf's son Lando, a relative of Gaideris. For this reason the baiulus and Gaideris himself were alienated from him. Soon others throughout the city of Capua, some with boats, crossed the river from one side to the other and joined Guaiferius; this group joined those united with the brothers Landonulf and Atenolf, and called for Pandonulf to submit to Guaiferius. But they were not able to achieve this because he was unwilling to receive his cousins within the city; for that reason, he was cast off by Guaiferius. After the baiulus and Gaideris learned of Pandonolf's deception, they returned to their own lands. Guaiferius on the other hand remained at the city of Capua. At this time in fact almost all of the distinguished Capuans and every common man left the city with wives and children and with all of their belongings, some staying close to Lando's sons and others among them to Landonulf's sons,<sup>372</sup> and great strife came about among them and most unfortunate

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<sup>372</sup> Adeserunt understood by Waitz as adhaeserunt, n. 4, 250.

devastation. For Guaiferius remained hostilely near the wall of the city and besieged it, and he established Lando on the far side of the river with the Franks of count Lambert.

[880] 43. Alio quoque anno superveniens iam fatus Guaiferius princeps cum Amelfitanis tempore messionis, et obsedit dictam urbem undique; factaque pace inter se fratres sub sacramento, ita dumtaxat, ut neuter eorum triticum de agris prius recolligeret in urbibus suis, quam ab apostolica auctoritate anathema mitteretur super eos; ut ingressis dictam in urbem, nullus eorum super alios auderet insurgere. Guaiferio igitur reverso ad solum proprium, ilico Pandonulfus sacramento oblitus, periurus effectus est; nam Romam, ut spoponderat, missos minime destinavit, et contra animam suam agens, triticum omne recepit; quem statim ultio divina subsecuta est; nam caelitus ignis immissus est et pene media funditus consumpsit memoratam civitatem.

[880] 43. The following year, Guaiferius, arriving unexpectedly with the Amalfitans at the time of reaping, besieged Capua from every side; and peace was made between the cousins under oath, so that none of them would gather wheat first from the fields into his own cities (or excommunication would be hurled upon them by apostolic authority), and so that none of them would dare rise up against the others when they entered the city. After Guaiferius had returned to his own country [Salerno], Pandonulf instantly forgot the oath, and a perjury was brought about; for he sent no messengers at all to Rome, as

he had promised,<sup>373</sup> and acting contrary to his soul, he took in all of the wheat; immediately divine vengeance followed, for fire was let loose from heaven and utterly consumed almost all of the center of Capua.

44. Per idem tempus Athanasius presul Neapolim militum magister preerat; qui, ut premisimus, exulato fratre proprio, cum Saracenis pacem iniens ac primum infra portum aequoreum et urbis murum collocans, omnen terram Beneventanam simulque Romanam necnon et partem Spoletii dirruentes, cunctaque monasteria et ecclesias omnesque urbes et oppida, vicos, montes et colles insulasque depredarunt; a quibus etiam sanctissimi Benedicti coenobia decentissima, toto orbe veneranda, et sancti Vincentii martiris [883] monasterium igne exusta sunt, aliaque innumerabilia, excepta Suessula, quam veraciter christianorum fraude miserabiliter suffossa est. Huic igitur sociatus est Pandonulfus; cuius amminiculo fretus, acrius coepit persequi fratrueles suos; ac primo tempore labores eorum hinc et inde vastans abstulit, atque cum Neapolitibus, Caietanis ac Saracenis iunctus, biduo super castrum Pilense irruens expugnavit; nihilque proficiens, inanis abscessit. Sequenti vero anno generaliter motionem faciens cum suis, Neapolitibus et Saracenis, super colossum, quo filii Landonis degebant, insedit, prius tamen illos qui residebant in termis iuxta arenam pecuniata deposuit et Capuam remisit. Illis vero, videlicet filii Landonis, in amphiteatro circumseptis, pacem cessit, accipiens ab eis Liguriam sub sacramento; qua etiam vice memoratus Pandonulfus denuo super Pilanum castrum cum Neapolitibus improvise irruens, fraude cepit, ab eis qui interius morabantur traditum. Ubi et ego captus sum, et omnibus bonis a pueritia acquisitis exutus, ipse pedester ante equorum capita usque ad urbem Capuanam [881] exul evectus sum, decimo Kal. Septembr. anno Domini 881.

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<sup>373</sup> Erchempert says later (ch. 47) that Pandonulf had subjected himself to Pope John VIII; Cilento says this took place in August 879; he thinks that the pope, in order to carry out his own political objectives, needed "un vassallo fedele" to continue the duties bishop Landulf had carried out; Le origini, 118-19 and n. 10, citing P. Fr. Kehr, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontificia.



44. During that time bishop Athanasius was in command as master of the soldiers at Naples; as we mentioned before, he had exiled his own brother,<sup>374</sup> and he made peace with the Saraceni, stationing them for the first time below the harbor and city wall. They destroyed all of Benevento's territory and likewise Rome, and also part of Spoleto; they plundered all of the monasteries and all of the churches, cities and towns, villages, mountains and hills and islands; they burned the noble communities of the most blessed Benedict, honored by all the world, and the monastery of [883] the holy martyr Vincent,<sup>375</sup> and numberless others, with the exception of Suessula, which was wretchedly undermined through the deceit of Christians. Then Pandonulf became allied with Athanasius, and bolstered by this support he began to persecute his cousins more fiercely. At the first opportunity he went out ravaging and carried off the products of their labors from here and there, and joining the Neapolitans, Gaetans, and Saraceni, he rushed in and stormed the fort at Pilanus<sup>376</sup> for two days, but achieving nothing went away empty-handed. But the following year, he

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<sup>374</sup> Ch. 39 (c. 877), where Athanasius seized his brother Sergius, master of the army, and sent him to Rome "with his eyes dug out," where he died.

<sup>375</sup> S. Vincenzo al Volturno was destroyed in October 881, Monte Cassino two years later; the Chron. Vult. reports that abbot Maione with a few monks sought refuge at Capua, where a new monastery was built; cited by Cilento, Le origini, n. 59, 133.

<sup>376</sup> Pilanus: Waitz locates in territory of Teano; n. 1, 254.

set things in motion again with his followers and with Neapolitans and Saraceni, and he settled above the amphitheater where Lando's sons were living.<sup>377</sup> First, however, he got rid of those who were living in the baths near the arena, giving them money and sending them to Capua. But he granted peace to those enclosed in the amphitheater, namely Lando's sons, receiving Liguria<sup>378</sup> from them under oath, after which Pandonulf rushed in unexpectedly upon the fort at Pilanus with the Neapolitans and captured it by deceit, handed over by those who were loitering within. There I also was captured, stripped of all property acquired from childhood,<sup>379</sup> and led out as an exile on foot in front of the horses' heads, all the way to the city of Capua, on the tenth day before the Kalends of September, in the year [881] of the Lord 881.

45. Pandonulfus autem confestim exercitaliter super Calvum profectus est, stipatus agmine Neapolitum, ibique munitionem extruens residebat. Set filii Landonolfi cum

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<sup>377</sup> colossum: Waitz identifies as the amphitheater (arena) at ancient Capua; n. 2, 254.

<sup>378</sup> Liguria (Liburia): Capua was becoming the center for this rich agricultural plain, earlier contested between Benevento and Naples.

<sup>379</sup> Omnibus bonis: puzzling in light of Saint Benedict's prohibition of private ownership of property among his monks; Taviani-Carozzi thinks that monks might keep part of their family property inherited under Lombard law to enjoy usage during their lifetime (usufruct), after which it would pass to the monastery; this seems likely in Erchempert's case, given the insecurity of the times and the protection such property might give; discussion in La Principauté, 48-49.

suis viriliter eis resistentes, subito inde recessit, a filiis Landonis iam pridem ablatam Suessa, sacramento eis olim largita. Set ut ad priora nunc calamum vertam, apprehensus Atenolfus a suprafato viro, Lando, germanus eius, non segniter egit; nam mox Calvense castrum, propter quod captus est idem Atenulfus, cum suis coepit hedificare; pars autem nobilium parata erat ad prelium, et pars vulgi vallis et parietibus construebat, sicque consummatus est. Post biennium ferme igne consumptum, ab eodem Landone reparatum est memoratum castrum; quo abiens cum universis suis, et casis datis per singulos concives oppidi de ministerio suo, et vasis vinariis, victualium quoque et vinum, omni vigilantia desudans, ad pristinum statum dictum oppidum erexit.

45. Now Pandonulf immediately proceeded with his troops beyond Cales<sup>380</sup> with a throng of Neapolitan forces, and he remained there, constructing a fortification. But with Landonolf's sons and their followers resisting them courageously, he suddenly withdrew from there, having already taken away Suessa from Lando's sons some time ago, which he had once bestowed on them by an oath. But turning my pen now to earlier events, after Atenulf was seized by Pandonulf, his brother Lando responded quickly and soon began to build a fort with his men at Cales, near which Atenulf himself had been captured. Now some of the nobles made ready for battle, and others of the common men built ramparts and walls, and thus it was completed. After two years, when it was almost consumed by fire, Lando repaired the fort, and going forth with all of his followers, gave houses to each one of the citizens of the town according to

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<sup>380</sup> Cales: an ancient city northwest of Capua, now Calvi Risorta.

service to him, and wine vessels, and also food and wine; with great attention and effort, he raised up the town to its original condition.

46. Et hoc in superiori parte non est pretereundum annectere, quod in principio rixae, cum idem Pandonulfus fratrueles suos persequeretur bestiali efferitate, Landulfum electum, filium Landonis, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, cui sedem sancti Stephani episcopalem ipse sub iureiurando tradiderat, a claustro episcopii expellens et humili loco, in cellula scilicet ministeriorum, degere constituit, et sibi in zetula episcopali mansionem exhiberi iussit; quod et factum est. Hoc cernens fatus Dei electus, metuens dicti viri versutias, egressus ex urbe, episcopalem ad sedem propriam beati protomartiris properavit, quo possit quietam ducere vitam. Interea occasione reperta Landonulfum, germanum suum, coniugatum clericum fecit, mittensque Romam Iohanni papae, episcopum fieri exposcit; in quo et exauditus est.

46. And this should not be left out of the preceding section, that in the beginning of the quarrel, when Pandonulf was persecuting his cousins with savage wildness, he expelled Lando's son Landulf from the bishop's cloister (who as we mentioned above had been elected and to whom Pandonulf himself had handed over the episcopal seat of holy Stephen under oath), and he arranged for him to live in a little room (evidently for servants) in lowly estate, and ordered him to carry out the remainder of his episcopacy in a small house,<sup>381</sup> which also was done. Seeing this and fearing Pandonulf's craftiness, the chosen one of God left

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<sup>381</sup> In zetula: Waitz interprets as mansiuncula (n. 7, 254); a small house or holding, according to Niermeyer.

the city and hastened to his own episcopal seat of the blessed protomartyr (St. Stephen), where he could lead a quiet life. Meanwhile, finding the opportunity, Pandonulf had his own brother Landonulf joined to the clergy, and sending him to Pope John at Rome,<sup>382</sup> demanded that he be made a bishop; in this also he was obeyed.

47. Hac pro insania et fraterna civilique expugnatione enixius flagitati, Bertar, sagacissimus abbas monasterii supradicti sanctissimi Benedicti, et Leo, venerabilis presul Teanensis, Urbem profecti sunt adieruntque dictum pontificem, obsecrantes eum suppliciter, ut tam grave piaculum non ageret, unde ruina terrae et sanguinis effusio procul dubio fieret. Cui etiam dictus abbas expresse inquit: 'Certe, si hoc exercuerit tua potestas, talem ignem illuc accendis ad te usque pertingentem'. Prevalens tamen voluntas pontificis, Landonulfum episcopum ordinavit. Hoc ideo factum est, quia Pandonulfus prius se subdiderat dicto papae, in cuius vocamine et cartae exaratae et nummi figurati sunt. Iuxta prescientia dicti abbatis talis itaque ignis exortus est, ut omnis Beneventana tellus et ipsa Romana a Saracenis funditus depopulata sit. Qua pro causa dictus papa bis venit Capuam; ac primo dum resedisset iuxta [880] urbem in loco qui Antenianus dicitur, omnes Langobardi hostiliter illum adeunt; nam ex una parte Athanasius episcopus cum Pandonulfo aderant, ex alia vero parte utriusque fratrueles cum Gaiderisio et Guaimario principibus habentibus Grecis advenerant, et cotidie presente papa utraeque acies in procinctu prosiliebant. Qua oneratus intentione, Landonulfum pridem electum consecravit episcopum in ecclesia beati Petri Capuam, cunctumque episcopatum inter ambos aequa sortitione dividi precepit. Ecclesia vero, in qua consecratio celebrata est, paulo post a Saracenis, a Pandonolfo advocatis et ab Athanasio missis, igne media exusta est.

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<sup>382</sup> Pope John VIII, 872-882; Cilento, citing Kehr, *Regesta*, says that Landulf had been elected bishop but had not yet been consecrated; Pandonulf's brother was of the laity and married, causing great scandal among the local clergy; *Le origini*, 120 and n. 16.

47. Solicited earnestly because of this mad civil war among the cousins, Berthar, the shrewd abbot of holy Benedict's monastery, and Leo, the venerable bishop of Teano, proceeded to Rome and went to the pope, imploring him with supplication not to perform so grave a sin,<sup>383</sup> from which there would doubtless come ruin of the land and bloodshed. The abbot also distinctly told him: "Surely, if your power is used for this, you will light such a fire there that it will reach all the way to you." The pontiff's will nevertheless prevailed and he ordained Landonulf as bishop. This was done because Pandonulf had previously subjected himself to the pope, in whose name bills were produced and coins formed. Just as the abbot had known ahead of time, such a fire accordingly arose, so that the whole Beneventan land and Rome itself might be thoroughly destroyed by the Saraceni. Because of this the pope came twice to Capua; the first time, when he settled near the [880] city in the place which is called Antignano,<sup>384</sup> all of the Lombards approached him hostilely. From one side the bishop Athanasius approached with Pandonulf, but from the other side one or the other of the cousins came with the rulers Gaideris and Guaimarius,<sup>385</sup> who had Greeks with

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<sup>383</sup> Piaculum: the sin of uncanonical ordination of Pandonulf's brother Landonulf as bishop of Capua.

<sup>384</sup> Antenianus: Antignano, a village about one mile north of the new Capua according to Waitz, n. 1, 255.

<sup>385</sup> Rulers of Benevento and Salerno, respectively.

them, and every day in the pope's presence one or the other burst out in readiness for action. Overwhelmed by this tension, the pope consecrated the previously-chosen Landonulf bishop in the church of the blessed Peter at Capua, and ordered that the whole episcopacy be divided between both Landonulf and Landulf in equal portions. But the central part of the church in which the consecration was celebrated was burned in a fire shortly afterward by Saraceni who had been summoned by Pandonolf and sent by Athanasius.

48. Circa haec tempora Guaiferius princeps monachus effectus est; langore depressus gravi, diem clausit extremum; et quia ob incursione Hismaelitarum corpus illius ad coenobium Benedicti patris ferri non valuit, Teanensi in castro eius in ecclesia humatum est, donec caelitus requie prestita sanctum ad locum veatur. Per idem tempus Iserniam, Suessulam uno mense, castrum etiam Bovianum eodem anno, capta et combusta sunt. Quo tempore suasus Gaideris, a Landone cognato suo alienatus, Pandonolfo sociatus est filiamque ipsius suo tradidit filio; set in proximo a contribulibus dicti Landonis captus ac custodiae [882] mancipatus est, eiusque in loco Radelgis, filius Adelgisi, princeps est constitutus; qui tribus vix annis [885] imperans, a Beneventanis eiectus, et Aio, frater eius, loco illius subrogatus est. Gaideris vero Francis traditus in custodia, fuga lapsus pervenit urbem Varensem, quo morabantur Greci; a quibus missus est urbem ad regiam Basilio pio augusto, a quo honoratus ditatusque donis imperialibus, Oeream urbem accepit ad convivendum.

48. Around this time the ruler Guaiferius became a monk; after sinking from a grave weakness, he ended his last day; and because his body could not be carried to father Benedict's community on account of the Ismaelites' attack,

he was buried in the church of his fort at Teano, until he could be conveyed to the holy site for better heavenly rest. During that time Isernia and Suessula were captured and burned in one month, and also the fortress at Bovianum that same year.<sup>386</sup> At this time Gaideris,<sup>387</sup> being alienated from his relative Lando, was persuaded to become allied with Pandonolf, and he handed over his daughter to Pandonolf's son; but immediately he was captured by Lando's kinsmen and delivered into custody, and Adelchis's son Radelchis was [882] established as ruler in his place. He ruled for scarcely three years and was thrown out by the Beneventans, [885] and his brother Aio<sup>388</sup> was proposed as successor in his place. Gaideris, who had been handed into custody to the Franks, slipped away into flight and reached Bari, where there were Greeks staying; he was sent by them to the royal city (Constantinople), to the pious emperor Basil, by whom he was honored and enriched with imperial gifts, and he received the city of Oria, to live there as the emperor's guest.

[882] 49. Hac tempestate Pandonolfi nimietatem non ferens Athanasius, relinquens eum, filiis Landonolfi et Landonis copulatus est in societatem. Hiis diebus idem presul missi

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<sup>386</sup> Isernia (ancient Aesernium), northwest of Bovianum in the mountainous Matese region; Suessula, southeast of Capua.

<sup>387</sup> Gaideris: ruler of Benevento.

<sup>388</sup> Aio: Prince of Benevento 884-890, to whom Erchempert evidently dedicated his History.



apocrisariis Siciliam, Saracenis ad radicem montis Besubii residentibus, Suchaymum regem exposcit illisque veniens prefecit. Set iusto Dei iudicio primo omnium super eum insurgens, coepit Neapolim graviter affligere et devorare omnia exterius ac puellas, equos et arma vi expetere. Hac turbine exactus, et ut apostolicum anathema, quo erat innodatus, a se et urbe sua expelleret, Guaimarium principem omnesque Capuanos ex urbibus et oppidis cunctosque maritimos suum in adiutorium advocavit et Saracenos ab eodem loco vi pepulit. Illi autem abeuntes, Agropolim castrametati sunt. Hoc facto non multo post predictus presul una cum filiis Landonis et filiis Landonolfi super Capuam, Pandonolfum capturus, advenit, dictamque urbem hinc et inde obsidens, affligebat. Qua necessitate compulsus, Pandonolfus Radelgisum principem cognatumque suum in auxilium invitavit. His autem, segnitie seposita, mox Aione germanum suum advocans, in comitatu suo Capuam, quo residebat, expugnatam audacter ingressus est. Post haec Aio cum Benevantanis et Capuanis egrediens, cum filiis Landonolfi Amalfitanos habentibus certamen iniit; et aliquandiu pugnatum est iuxta portam urbis. Cumque neutra pars alteri cederet, utraeque acies ad sua reversa sunt.

[882] 49. At this time Athanasius could not endure Pandonulf's excesses and abandoned him and joined an alliance with the sons of Landonolf and Lando. During this period Athanasius sent emissaries to Sicily and implored the [Islamic] king Suchaymus<sup>389</sup> to come to them, and he put him in command of the Saraceni settled at the base of Mount Vesuvius.<sup>390</sup> But by the righteous judgment of God, Suchaymus rose against Athanasius first of all and began to strike violently at Naples and devour everything outside and forcefully demand girls, horses, and arms. Forced by this

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<sup>389</sup> Suchaymum: Amari thought perhaps Soheim; Waitz, n. 5, 255.

<sup>390</sup> Mount Vesuvius: about 12 kilometers east-southeast of Naples, the only active volcano on the continent of Europe; most famous for the eruption of AD 79 in which Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae were destroyed.

turmoil and by the apostolic excommunication in which he was entangled, which might drive him from his own city, Athanasius summoned Guaimarius and all of the Capuans from the cities and towns and all of the maritime powers to his aid and forcefully drove the Saraceni from that place.<sup>391</sup> The Saraceni now went away and set up their camps at Agropoli.<sup>392</sup> Not long after this had been accomplished, Athanasius together with Lando's and Landonolf's sons came to Capua in order to capture Pandonolf, and struck at the besieged city from here and there. Forced by necessity, Pandonolf summoned his relative Radelchis<sup>393</sup> for help. He came to them promptly and immediately summoned his brother Aio, who was staying at Capua with his followers, and they stormed Capua and boldly entered. After these events, Aio went out with the Beneventans and Capuans and began a battle with Landonolf's sons, who had Amalfitans with them, and for some time the battle was fought near the gate of the city. And when neither one side nor the other would yield, both armies returned to their own lands.

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<sup>391</sup> Gay thought that from the early ninth century Naples saw itself as independent of all claims of Byzantium or the papacy; Athanasius's alliance first with the Muslims and then with his old enemies is a continuation of this policy; L'Italie méridionale, I, 126-28.

<sup>392</sup> Agropoli: Waitz cites marginal note identifying as fort in principality of Salerno; n. 6, 255; Wickham says it was used as a base on the west coast from which the Muslims terrorized the South for several decades; Early Medieval Italy, 154.

<sup>393</sup> Radelchis II: Prince of Benevento 881-884 and 897-900.

50. Repedante itaque Radelgiso ad propria, Athanasius ad solita recurrens arma, simulavit universos fratrueles pacisci; cohortatus est videlicet eos, ut, dato sacramento ad alterutrum, omnes ingrederentur urbem comuniter habitaturi. Set Pandonolfus ab eodem presule sacramentum accipiens, ne ulla contra eum moliretur insidias, tunc omnes fratres in unum adunati Capuam adierunt, dato prius amphitheatro eidem Athanasio, et ille Guaiferio ad cohabitandum tradidit ad perpetuum Capuanorum iurgium. Cum vero adessent universi, ut diximus, omnes iurarunt, ut pacifici et sine ulla molestia dicti viri intrarent ad commorandum. Pandonolfus autem recepit eos ovans cum clericis veste amictis candida. Mox autem ingressi intro, apprehenderunt Pandonolfum et Landonolfum, fratrem eius, quem supra episcopum descripsimus, cum omnibus consentaneis, sequacibus et fautoribus suis, et hii duo missi sunt Neapolim; post haec et uxores, filii et filiae missae sunt illuc.

50. After Radelchis had gone back to his own country, Athanasius returned to his usual weapons and pretended to make an agreement with all of the cousins; he encouraged them so that after they had taken an oath of allegiance to one another, they would all enter the city to live together. But Pandonolf received an oath from this same bishop that no one would undertake any attacks against him. Then all of the cousins approached Capua to be united into one after the amphitheater was first given to Athanasius, and he handed it over to Guaiferius<sup>394</sup> for both to live in, on account of the Capuans' continuous quarrel. When they all approached, as we said, they all took an oath and made an agreement that they would enter to dwell together without any trouble.

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<sup>394</sup> Guaiferius: not Guaiferius I, prince of Salerno in 861 and later a monk (ch.48); this Guaiferius becomes commander at the amphitheater, and Erchempert evidently considers him a traitor to the Lombards (ch. 74).

Pandonolf now received them, celebrating with clerics dressed in white clothing. Soon after they went inside, they seized Pandonolf and his brother Landonolf (the bishop whom we described above<sup>395</sup>) and everyone in agreement with them, their followers and supporters; and these two were sent to Naples; after this their wives, sons, and daughters were also sent there.

51. Inter haec Saraceni totam supradictam terram crudeliter laniabant, ita ut desolata terra cultoribus, vestibus et vepribus repleta fatiscat. Guaiferius autem colosso residens, suasus ab Athanasio, immo et Athanasius ab illo coactus, bellum coepit inferret dictis fratribus, atque cum Saracenis nimium eos affligebat et acrius insequabatur. Tunc nutu Dei, a quo omne procedit bonum, quendam Agarenum ab Africa evocans, regia de stirpe generi sui procreatum, Agropolim, inde Garilianum, quo residebant agmina Hismaelitica, misit, atque omnium illorum mentem accendens, eius hortatus universi Saraceni tam de Gariliano quam de Agropoli comuniter collecti, Calabriam, qua residebat Grecorum exercitus super Saracenos in Sancta Severina [884] commorantes, properarunt; ubi et omnes Graiorum gladiis extincti sunt. Dehinc Amanteum castrum captum est; deinde et dictae Beatae Severinae oppidum apprehensum est.

51. During this time, the Saraceni cruelly tore the land to pieces so that it became exhausted, left without cultivators and filled with sloughs of snakes and thorn bushes. Now Guaiferius, living at the amphitheater, was persuaded by Athanasius (or rather Athanasius was compelled by him) to start a war with the cousins, and he struck at them excessively with Saraceni and persecuted them fiercely.

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<sup>395</sup> Ch. 46, in which Pandonulf was able to compel Pope John VIII to ordain Landonulf as bishop.

Then by the will of God, from whom every good proceeds, a certain Agarenius from Africa was called forth, begotten of the royal lineage of his people, and sent to Agropolis and from there to the Garigliano river, where the Ismaelite army was staying. He inflamed the minds of all of them, and his encouragement brought together all of the Saraceni in common, those along the Garigliano as much as those from Agropoli. They hastened to Calabria, where the army of the Greeks was settled above the Saraceni at Santa Severina;<sup>396</sup> [884] and there all of the Greeks were destroyed by the sword. Next the fortress at Amantea was seized,<sup>397</sup> and then the town of the blessed Severina was occupied.<sup>398</sup>

[886] 52. Basilio serenissimo augusto his diebus defuncto, duo filii eius in imperio sunt electi, id est Leo primogenitus et Alexander subsequens; tercius vero, Stephanus nomine, archiepiscopatum eiusdem urbis--eiecto Focio, qui olim a Nicolao primae sedis pontifice ob invasionem episcopatus Ignatii adhuc superstitis perpetuo anathemate fuerat multatus, et a Iohanne papa, ut ita dicam ignaro, ad pristinum gradum resuscitatus--regendum suscepit.

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<sup>396</sup> Santa Severina: on an isolated outcrop of sheer rock in La Sila plateau region; it was a Byzantine fortress and the town from which Pope Zacharias (741-752) came.

<sup>397</sup> Amantea: On the west coast of Calabria.

<sup>398</sup> Gay, following the Byzantine historian Basil, gives a much brighter picture of Byzantine recoveries in Calabria and Apulia, at least along the coasts, noting that Santa-Severina and Amantea were two of only a few Islamic strongholds remaining toward the end of 880; L'Italie méridionale, I, 112-14.

[886] 52. The most serene emperor Basil died at this time,<sup>399</sup> and two of his sons were chosen for the emperorship, Leo the first-born and the next, Alexander; but the third, Stephan by name, undertook the rule of the archiepiscopacy of Constantinople. Photius was driven out, who had once been punished with perpetual excommunication by Pope Nicholas because he had usurped the episcopacy of Ignatius while he was still alive;<sup>400</sup> Photius had been raised again with regard to his original rank by the (I might say naive) Pope John.<sup>401</sup>

[884] 53. Interea Athanasius solita fraude cupiens supradictos fratres sequestrare ab invicem, hinc Landoni seniori, filio videlicet Landonis singularis et prestantissimi viri, neptem suam adhuc lactantem in coniugium cessit, ob hoc, ut fila feminarum illaquearet eum; ascitoque eum, monuit serpentino ore, ut confratruales suos caperet vel, quod magis ambiebat, occideret; silicet ut inter se rixantes aut omnino interirent aut deficerent, et ille Capuam caperet. Et quoniam Lando, licet segnitiae

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<sup>399</sup> Basil I, founder of Macedonian dynasty (thought to be of Armenian extraction, although born in Macedonia), Byzantine emperor 867-886; succeeded by Leo VI (the Wise), 886-912, and Alexander II, 912-913.

<sup>400</sup> Pope Nicholas I excommunicated Photius (a layman) as a usurper after Ignatius's deposition in 861; Photius excommunicated Nicholas following condemnation by the Council of Constantinople in 867 of all points of Latin Christian doctrine and liturgical usage which differed from the Orthodox.

<sup>401</sup> Gay notes perceptions of Latin clergy that Pope John was naive or uninformed; L'Italie méridionale, I, 124; the pope was understood to have reinstated Photius in exchange for getting a Byzantine patrol along the Tyrrhenian coast to help against the Muslims after failure of the Pact of Traietto of 877 with the maritime cities; discussion in Kreutz, Before the Normans, 57-60.

torpore naturaliter frueretur, immobilis et constans persistebat re inchoata, hoc advertens Athanasius doluit, protinus consilium repperit sibi adcommodatissimum tunc, set non in longum perniciosius; competenti etenim festinatione inter ista Atenolfum ascivit eique secretius inquit: 'Ex omni gente Langobardorum Capuam elegi mihi habilem, et e Capuam gentem vestram, et ex omnibus fratribus tuis te solummodo pretuli, consentientem mihi et in cunctis optemperantem, virum industrium; idcirco si meis verbis aures tuas adcommodaveris, in cunctis prosperaveris'. At ille cuncta se patrare respondit imperata. Cui ille: 'Cape filios Landonis, et esto tu solus imperans Capuam, sicut avus tuus singulariter imperasse dignoscitur'. Ille vero hoc fratrum consilio distulit. Qui reversus rem venenose insitam propriis innuit fratribus. At illi obstupefacti, signo se crucis Christi munierunt, dicentes: 'Ante moriamur aut exulemus, quam super fratres nostros iuste aut iniuste insurgamus umquam; donec enim erit in naribus nostris, non insidiabimur sanguini nostro'. Mox etenim iuncti filii Landonolfi, munierunt se horribili et pene inaudito sacramento cum filiis Landonis clanculo sub gravi anathematis interdictione; statimque Atenolfo abiens, Athanasio retulit, voluntatem fratrum suorum ratam fore fratrulibus suis et in nullo penitus moveri. At ille durius hoc accipiens, extus factus est illis.

[884] 53. Meanwhile Athanasius desired with his customary deceit to separate the cousins from one another, and for this reason gave his still-nursing granddaughter in marriage to lord Lando,<sup>402</sup> son of the extraordinary Lando, so that with a woman's wiles she might ensnare him; and after he was won over (he warned with serpent's mouth) he would seize his own cousins or (what Athanasius was angling for above all) kill them. As they quarreled among themselves they would either perish altogether or fail, and he could seize Capua. Since Lando was blessed naturally with sluggishness, he

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<sup>402</sup> Lando III, count of Capua 882-885 and Landonolf's son, and Lando I's grandson; see genealogical table of Capuan dynasty in Appendix.

persisted immovable and constant with the matter unfinished; taking note of this, Athanasius was sorry and right away discovered for himself a most suitable plan, one not too long and drawn out. In fact with agreeable haste he won over Atenolf<sup>403</sup> during that time and said to him secretly: "From all of the Lombard race at Capua I have chosen you as suitable to me, and from all of your people at Capua, and from all of your cousins I have preferred you alone, to be agreeable to me and obedient in all things, a diligent man; for that reason if you will bend your ears to my words, you will prosper in all things." Then Atenolf replied that he would execute all of his commands. Athanasius told him: "Seize Lando's sons and be sole ruler at Capua, just as your grandfather is known to have ruled alone." But Atenolf divulged this to a council of his cousins. One of them went back and advised his own brothers about this poisonous scheme. They were astounded and armed themselves with the sign of the cross of Christ, saying: "Let us die or be exiled, rather than ever rise against our cousins justly or unjustly; truly while we are still breathing, we will not plot against our own blood." In fact Landonolf's sons soon united and fortified themselves secretly with a terrifying and unheard-of oath with Lando's sons under severe threat of excommunication. Atenolf immediately went away and reported to Athanasius that his brothers' will was fixed with regard

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<sup>403</sup> Atenolf: Lando's youngest brother.



to their cousins and was utterly immovable. Athanasius received this message unfeelingly and became as a stranger to them.

54. Eodem tempore Guaimarius supradictus princeps, cum nimium affligeretur ab Athanasio episcopo cum Saracenis, essetque ex toto depopulata tellus ipsius, ita ut capi possit, nisi divina pietas restitisset, ad Grecorum se contulit suffragium; a quibus nobiliter est adiutus. Nam et auro et frumento adiutus est et auxiliatoribus stipatus, qui custodirent urbem et populem eius; quod actenus servatur, ut dictum est. Aio autem princeps Beneventi et ante principatum et postea partim imbecillis partim roboreus extitit.

54. At that time the ruler Guaimarius,<sup>404</sup> when he had been greatly afflicted by bishop Athanasius with Saraceni and his territory destroyed so completely that it could be captured unless divine mercy restored it, turned for support to the Greeks, by whom he was helped splendidly. For he was supported by both gold and grain and surrounded with auxiliary troops who would guard the city and his people, a force retained till now, it is said.<sup>405</sup> And Aio, the ruler of Benevento, both before he took up the rule and afterward, appeared partly weak and partly strong.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Guaimarius: ruler of Salerno.

<sup>405</sup> Gay notes arrival of a large army around 885 under Nicephorus Phocas, to whom he gives credit for the durable restoration of Byzantine power in southern Italy; L'Italie méridionale, I, 132-34.

<sup>406</sup> A curious comment in view of Erchempert's evident dedication of his History to Aio; perhaps he means that Aio could have better supported Guaimarius at Salerno to prevent the rise of Byzantine power in the region.

55. Ut autem post tergum redeam, habeuntibus Saracenis Calabriam illucque pereuntibus, Decivilis dux Caietae centum pene quinquaginta ex eis secum retinuit, ut sine sacerdotali officio non remaneret; ad instar Iudaycorum regum, qui, diviso inter se bifarie regno, ut fertur, Levitae ex maxima parte Ierusalimam, quo inerat templum toto orbe authenticum, congregati sunt. De quo numero ex parte fati fere ad centum viginti Saraceni urbem Teanensem audenter adierunt, sicuti prius agere conspexerant, quando prope duo milia quingenti erant. Super quos Lando ceu leo audacter cum suis irruens, usque ad ultimam internicionem protrivit eos, ita ut de tanto numero non amplius quam quinque evaderent, ceteris interfectis, ni fallor centum quindecim.

55. Now if I may turn back, with Saraceni living and dying there in Calabria, duke Decivilis of Gaeta<sup>407</sup> kept almost one hundred and fifty of them with him, so that he would not remain without a priestly service,<sup>408</sup> like the kings of the Jews, who divided their kingdom into two parts among them, it is said, and the Levites from the greater part assembled at Jerusalem, where the authentic temple of the whole world was.<sup>409</sup> Almost one hundred twenty of these

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<sup>407</sup> Docibilis I: ypatus (hypatos) (duke, consul) of Gaeta 867-c. 910, founder of dynasty lasting until twelfth century, who amassed great wealth through Mediterranean trade; discussed in Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 150, 154.

<sup>408</sup> Sacerdotali officio: a puzzling phrase (Pin translates it similarly, servizio sacerdotale, 224); perhaps indicating an attempt to regularize at least the religious activities of the Islamic community at Gaeta, possibly akin to the situation at Bari; Musca discusses efforts of Mufarrag, second emir of Bari (853-856), to gain legitimacy and a juridical foundation at Bari through establishment of routine religious observances and prayers and recognition (in theory) of the Aghlabid caliph's authority; discussion in L'emirato, 47-50.

<sup>409</sup> Gay says Gaeta's Saracens had been brought from Agropoli by the hypatos (duke) Docilibis after the pope punished him for disobedience; the Saracens ravaged papal estates in the area, forcing the pope to concede administration of his estates to Docilibis; discussed in L'Italie méridionale, I, 127-28.

Saraceni approached the city of Teano boldly, just as they had contemplated doing previously when there were nearly two thousand five hundred [of them]. Lando burst upon them boldly as a lion with his men and overthrew them with a great massacre, so that not more than fifteen escaped after the rest were killed, one hundred fifteen if I am not mistaken.

56. Athanasius autem cernens se delusum ab utrorumque responsionibus fratrum, tristior effectus est solito, set ocius invenit consilium habile sibi. Missis siquidem legatis, trecentos Grecos sui in auxilium ascivit, Chasano eos preeunte. Tunc callide pace facta cum Capuanis, mox quando vindemia legitur, cum esset Capua valide afflicta et a foris depopulata, omnes certatim egressi sunt, tam primores quam et mediocres, ad vindemiandum. Ille vero, sugerente hoc vel maxime Guaiferio Colossense, ex abditis Grecos Neapolites una cum theatralibus viris, et depredavit totam Capuam, apprehensis in ea multis et prestantissimis viris peculiisque non modicis. Ab illo igitur tempore omnia circumquaque devastans, Liguriam vindicabat sibi. Nam et Saracenos Agropolitanos, qui nuper de illius magnatibus iusta rivulum Lanii non procul a Suessula, qua ille nefandum perpetraverat scelus, ferme ducentos peremerunt viros, clam evocavit et Capuam misit; ubi tunc egredientes Capuani, valde resisterunt eis; ob hoc et absque preda ad castra repedarunt. Lando autem senior tunc apoplexia percussus interiit.

56. Now Athanasius, seeing that he had been deceived by the responses of both brothers,<sup>410</sup> was saddened more than usual, but he quickly found a useful plan, since he sent ambassadors and took into association three hundred Greeks for support, with Chansanus as their commander. Then

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<sup>410</sup> Lando with the grand-daughter, Atenolf with the plot to establish him as sole ruler of Capua (ch. 53).

he craftily made peace with the Capuans; soon at the time of the grape harvest, when Capua was being severely damaged and ravaged from without, everyone went out in competition for the grape-harvest, as many nobles as the middling sort. But with Guaiferius Colossensus<sup>411</sup> greatly supplementing his Neapolitan Greeks with men withdrawn from the amphitheater, Athanasius ravaged all of Capua and seized many eminent men there with a considerable amount of property. Laying waste all of the surrounding area after that, he claimed Liguria for himself. He now secretly summoned and sent to Capua the Saraceni from Agropoli, who had recently killed almost two hundred from among Capua's magnates near the river Lanii (Clanii) not far from Suessula, where Athanasius had carried out an abominable crime. The Capuans then came out and made a strong stand against them; because of this the Saraceni returned to their camp without booty. Then the lord Lando was struck with apoplexy and died.<sup>412</sup>

[885] 57. Dictus itaque vir, prout mente conceperat, novis et inauditis machinis insurgebat adversus Capuanos, adeo ut tempore quadragesimali, cum omnis plebs christicola et preterita defleret mala et poscit a Deo, ut flenda minime committat ipso, mediante festo dominico subsequente crepusculo, collectis Grecis Materensibus, Aegiptiis et Neapolitibus, conscio Guaiferio duce, preeunte Chasano, urbem Capuanam temptavit invadere; atque ascensis muro acsi

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<sup>411</sup> Guaiferius Colossensus: taken into association with Athanasius and assigned to guard the amphitheater (hence the cognomen); ch. 50.

<sup>412</sup> Lando III, count of Capua 882-885; his brother Landonolf became count of Capua 885-887.

trecentis viris armatis diversorum generibus telorum, set omnes in Domino adiuvante, alii sponte ex eo dissilierunt, quidam cervice tenus imis iacti sunt, nonnulli vero gladio occubuerunt; de nostris unus solummodo Onericus nomine, et, ut fertur, a suis, extinctus est. Bellum quippe hoc narratum in muro arbiter Iudex non per belligerantes et armipotentes egit viros, set per quatuor impubes mirifice gessit ad laudem nominis sui. Confractis itaque viribus, quod conceperat minime cessavit; nam et Salernum per Saracenos prius, et postea per Grecos, multotiens capere molitus est, set non est permissus a Domino.

[885] 57. Therefore Athanasius rose up against the Capuans with new and unheard-of plots just as he conceived them in his mind, as at the Lenten season, when all Christian people lament bitterly all past evils and call upon God so that they may be least guilty of what they are weeping for. In the middle of Lent, on Sunday at twilight, Athansius tried to invade the city of Capua, after he had gathered Greeks from Matera, Aegiptii,<sup>413</sup> and Neapolitans, with Guaiferius as a confederate and Chasanus in the lead. Three hundred men ascended the wall armed with various kinds of weapons, but with the Lord's help, some spontaneously broke away from the wall, and certain ones were thrown by the neck down to the bottom, but some died by the sword; among our men, only one named Onericus was killed, by his own men it is said. Certainly the Judge, witness of the battle on the wall reported here, did not act through warriors and strongly armed men, but miraculously through four youths for the

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<sup>413</sup> Aegiptiis: presumably Muslims from Africa, perhaps followers of those mentioned in ch's 34 and 38 who came in the period following Louis II's captivity at Benevento.

glory of his name. After those men were destroyed, Athanasius scarcely gave up on what he had conceived; for he also struggled many times to capture Salerno, first through Saraceni and later by means of Greeks, but this was not permitted by the Lord.

58. Eodem quoque tempore Guido, filius Guidonis senioris, super Saracenos in Gariliano castrametatos, ut retro redeam, hostiliter irruens, castra eorum dirructa depredavit et aliquantos eorum gladiis interfecit; reliqui montis per opaca ut aqua diffusi sunt. His autem Capuam appropians, ultra transvadavit, et ad pontem qui Teudemundi vocatur castrametatus, resedit aliquandiu, et ablato ex Liguria frumento aliisque victualiis, Capuani refocillati sunt; cum eodem duce non sunt foederati; set cum retroverteretur urbemque transiret, metu coacti subdiderunt se illi. Ipso ad sua remeante, erexit saepe fatus Athanasius viriliter contra eos tulitque illis, adiutus auxilio Grecorum, omnia a foris sata, quaeque videbantur possidere a parte Capuae necnon et superius; illaque replicata sunt; post reditum supradicti ducis per Chasanum multipliciter patrata sunt, quae a me strictim sunt dicta.

58. Also at that time (if I may go back)<sup>414</sup> Guido, son of the lord Guido, rushed in hostilely upon the Saraceni encamped on the Garigliano river, broke up their camp, plundered it, and killed a considerable number of them with swords;<sup>415</sup> the rest were spread like water through shadows into the mountains. Now hastening to Capua, Guido forded

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<sup>414</sup> To ch. 51, events around the year 884.

<sup>415</sup> Gay sees this as Guido's attempt to extend Spoletan power southward, with possible interest in occupying Benevento and the port of Siponto; L'Italie méridionale, I, 138.

the river beyond,<sup>416</sup> and after he had set up camp at the bridge which is called Teudemundi, he remained there for some time. Grain was obtained from Liguria along with other things for sustenance, and the Capuans were revived. They were not allied with Guido, but when he was about to turn back and pass by the city, compelled by fear they submitted themselves to him. When Athanasius himself came back, he frequently rose up manfully against the Capuans and with the help of auxiliary troops of Greeks carried off all of the crops from outside, and everything they seemed to possess in the region of Capua if not beyond; and that has been revealed. After duke Guido went back, those things were carried out many times over by Chasanus, which I have discussed superficially.

[886] 59. Post haec sugestum est eidem duci, ut veniret quantocius et liberaret confidentes ipsi; sin autem, omnino perditioni subirent; qui mox veniens Capuam, Aionem principem a Benevento ad se venientem consilio Capuanorum cepit et sub custodia Beneventum duci fecit; in qua introiens, ordinavit eam; inde proficiscens, Sepontum ingressus est, Aionem foris reliquit in castris. Cum autem cognovissent Sepontini Aionem seniore suum captum, supradictum ducem unanimiter irruentes, clausurunt quodam in templo, captis eius optimatibus. Hac illacque tunc missum est, et adductus est Aio redditusque est suis; alio vero die sacramento dato vix cum dedecore elapsus est.

[886] 59. After these events, it was suggested to Guido that he should come at once and liberate those who trusted in him, for without him they would plunge into ruin

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<sup>416</sup> The Volturno river.

altogether. Guido soon came to Capua and seized the ruler Aio who was coming toward him from Benevento to a council of the Capuans, and he had him led under guard to Benevento, where Guido entered and put things in order. Proceeding from there, he entered Siponto,<sup>417</sup> leaving Aio outside in the camp. Now when the Sipontans learned that their lord Aio had been captured, they attacked Guido with one accord and shut him in a certain church, having captured his nobles. Then things went back and forth, and Aio was brought and restored to his followers; but on another day after he had just given a dishonorable oath, he escaped.<sup>418</sup>

60. Dehinc Chasano Constantinopolim abeunte, quidam stratigo augustalis Iohannem candidatum, quem lingua Pelasgica Ianniccio vocant, cum trecentis belligeratoribus direxit Athanasio episcopo; cum quo idem vir Capuam hinc et inde predavit; atque hoc presidio istorum Pandonolfum ex vinculis ereptum libertati restituit, et a Magiperto receptus est Suessam; qui iunctus est Grecis, et universa animalia Capuae ablata sunt. Qua de re Lando, filius Landonolfi, et Landolfus episcopus adierunt dictum ducem in Spoletium, petentes ab eo auxilium; Landolfus presul a Spoletio reversus est, Lando autem cum eodem duce per Sepontum Capuam advenit; qui per aliquot dies Atellae residens, Capuam frumento implevit; accepto nuncio, repente Romam profectus est, Capuanos reliquid in manibus dicti presulis. Is autem statim super Sanctum Heremum Grecos et Neapolitanos direxit; quem diu obsidentes, eos qui in sublimibus residebant cepit, et deinde Capuam ex utraque parte graviter affligebant, ita ut quasi obsessa videretur; nam iusta Sicopolim Greci cum Neapolitibus et Pandonolfo

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<sup>417</sup> Siponto: Lombard port on the Adriatic (see ch. 17).

<sup>418</sup> Cum dedecore: Erchempert evidently regarded Aio's expediency in subjecting himself to Guido as dishonorable, perhaps one of the weaknesses he mentions in ch. 54.



residentes, omnia circumquaque stirpitibus devorabant; unde contigit, ut octoginta ex eis Calinulum advenientes, super Teanum latenter irruerunt; quibus ex diverso Lando cum Teanensibus et Atenolfus cum aliquantibus Capuanis occurrerunt iuxta Sanctam Scolasticam prope castrum Teani; a quibus et victi sunt.

60. Then Chasanus departed for Constantinople, and a certain imperial stratigo<sup>419</sup> sent the candidatus John<sup>420</sup> (whom they call "Ianniccio" in the Pelasgican language<sup>421</sup>) to bishop Athanasius with three hundred warriors, and with him they plundered Capua from this side to that. With the assistance of these forces, Athanasius restored Pandolf (rescued from his chains) to liberty, and he was received by Magipert at Suessa;<sup>422</sup> he joined the Greeks, and all of the animals of Capua were carried off. Because of this, Pandolf's son Lando and the bishop Landolf went to Guido at Spoleto, seeking help from him; bishop Landolf returned

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<sup>419</sup> Stratigo: according to Niermeyer (who cites Erchempert's usage here), a governor of a province in Byzantine Italy; stratêgoi discussed in J. B. Bury, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, With a Revised Text of The Klêtorologion of Philotheos (New York: Burt Franklin, 1911), 39-47; the theme (province) of Langobardia would be established around 892 when Benevento was conquered under the stratigo Symbarichius; discussion in Bloch, Monte Cassino, I, 6.

<sup>420</sup> Candidatus: an imperial guardsman; one of the lower grades of dignity, bearing insignia of gold chain; discussion in Bury, Imperial Administrative System, 20-27.

<sup>421</sup> Lingua Pelasgica: possibly of Pelasgia, country of the Pelasgi, an ancient people who inhabited the North Aegean region; Pelasgis was an old name for Thessaly.

<sup>422</sup> Suessa: now Sessa Aurunca, west of Teano.

from Spoleto, but Lando came to Capua with Guido through Siponto. Remaining for some days at Atella,<sup>423</sup> he filled Capua with grain; then receiving a message, he hurried suddenly to Rome and left the Capuans in the hands of the bishop. Athanasius<sup>424</sup> immediately sent the Greeks and Neapolitans above Saint Herasmus;<sup>425</sup> besieging it for a long time, he captured those who remained at the top, and then they struck at Capua from every direction, so that it seemed besieged. The Greeks who remained with the Neapolitans and Pandonolf near Sicopolis utterly devoured everything around, from whence it happened that eighty of them approaching Calinulum<sup>426</sup> secretly rushed in upon Teano. Lando with Teanans and Atenolf with a considerable number of Capuans attacked the Greeks from different directions close to Sancta Scholastica, not far from the fortress at Teano, but the Greeks defeated them.

61. Per idem tempus monasterium beati Benedicti a Saracenis prius dirructum anno Domini 884, ab Angelario [886] venerabili abbate coeptum est rehedicari iuso anni 886. mense Aug. A quo reversi dum Capuam repeteremus, a Grecis capti exutique sumus et exequitati; ablatisque equis et spoliis et ministris cunctis, homines argento redempti sunt; equos recollegimus 5; ego autem solus cum preceptore

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<sup>423</sup> Atella: between Naples and Capua.

<sup>424</sup> Is presumably refers to Athanasius, ready to resume attacks on Capua after Guido leaves.

<sup>425</sup> Sanctum Heremum: Waitz identifies as the tower of St. Herasmus, not far from the amphitheater; n. 3, 258.

<sup>426</sup> Calinulum: Waitz identifies as Carinola; n. 1, 259; located to the south of Sessa Aurunca.

pedestre remansi; a Capuanis delati sumus in urbem; inde Neapolim pertranseuntes nihilque proficientes, infructuosi remeavimus Capuam; dehinc tria plaustra, onerata victualiis multisque opulentiis, iuxta Anglenam, quo prius capti sumus nos, apprehensa et depredata sunt.

61. During this time the monastery of the blessed Benedict, demolished earlier by the Saraceni in the year of the Lord 884,<sup>427</sup> was begun to be rebuilt by order of the [886] venerable abbot Angelarius in the month of August of the year 886. Returning from there when we were going back to Capua, we were captured by Greeks<sup>428</sup> and stripped and unhorsed; after our horses and goods and servants were all taken away, the men were redeemed with silver;<sup>429</sup> we recovered five horses; but I alone with the praeceptor<sup>430</sup> remained behind on foot; we were brought down by Capuans into the city. Going from there to Naples and accomplishing nothing, we came back empty-handed to Capua; then three wagons, loaded with food and much wealth, were seized and

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<sup>427</sup> Ch. 44; now believed to have occurred in 883.

<sup>428</sup> Waitz says these were Greeks serving under Athanasius at Naples, who appear also in ch. 58, 67, and 70; n. 4, 259.

<sup>429</sup> Leo Ostiensis says there were seven other monks with Erchempert, and calls the homines who were redeemed with silver famuli (servants); Chronica, I, 47.

<sup>430</sup> Praeceptor: often understood as Erchempert's teacher or tutor (Pin translates as il precettore, tutor, 227); but Taviani-Carozzi makes a convincing case for understanding it here as a prior or monk delegated as head of a priory, rather than tutor (she translates the passage "avec le prieur" accordingly); La Principauté Lombarde, I, 48.

plundered near Anglena,<sup>431</sup> where we had been captured previously.

62. Hiis ita crudeliter gestis, Atenolfus Spoletium pergens, dato pretio, Suabilum gastaldeum Marsorum cum aliis sociis bassisque, quasi ad trecentos armatos, secum advexit; cum quibus et consilium iniit, ut gastaldatum Capuanum illi firmarent; set ingredientes Capuam, cum hoc adimplere nequivissent, dicti Franci, resistente ac contradicente precipue Landone, germano eius, quem dudum ipse cum ceteris fratribus gastaldeum in his quae ad eos pertinebant instituerat, ab eodem Atenolfo absoluti, via qua venerant repedarunt. Tunc dictus Atenolfus, consilio habito cum suis, Sadi cognatum suum ad Athanasium saepius dictum subdole misit, poscens ab eo auxilium, ut adiuvaretur singulariter fieri comes in Capua. Haec autem audiens, gavisus est et spopondit se in omnibus illum auxiliaturum. Cumque hoc a plurimis et maxime terque quaterque Landoni fuisset relatum, ille, solita segnitie et torpore detentus, parvipendens, pro nihilo ducebat huiusmodi nuncium.

62. After these things had been cruelly carried out, Atenolf proceeded to Spoleta and paid money to bring the gastald Suabilus of the Marsi<sup>432</sup> with other allies and vassals, about three hundred armed men; he entered into an agreement with them to strengthen the Capuan gastaldade; but upon entering Capua, when they were unable to accomplish this, Atenolf himself released the Franks, who went back by the way they had come. His brother Lando especially had resisted and contradicted this effort, whom awhile ago Atenolf had established as gastald with his other brothers

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<sup>431</sup> Anglena or Anghiena: Waitz locates a little beyond Capua, in the direction of Calvi; n. 6, 259.

<sup>432</sup> Marsi: people of Latium (central Italy), famous as fighters and also celebrated in the past as wizards and snake charmers.

in those matters which pertained to them. Then Atenolf, after he held council with his followers, craftily sent his relative Sadi to Athanasius, imploring assistance from him, so that with his help Atenolf might become sole count at Capua. Hearing this, Athanasius was delighted and promised that he would help him in all things. And when this had been related by many to Lando, and especially for the third and fourth time, he (held back by his usual torpor and slowness) gave it little regard and considered such news as of no importance.<sup>433</sup>

63. Exin memoratus Lando febris ardore succensus, Teanum habiit, curaturus a langore quo detinebatur. Atenulfus interim a re coepta nec gressumque neque mentem ammovit, set promptus et fervidus existens parturire, quod iam dudum corde conceperat, ob hoc Neapolim ire anxiabat festinus. Hoc ergo cum ad aures Landonis pervenisset, ilico Alcisum et Aldelfridum Capuam misit, ut dictum virum suo hortatu coepto itinere deviaret, et adiecit: 'Ego autem, missa audita et comestione finita, subsequar vos'. Illi enim abientes, fatum virum invenientes, retinere nequiverunt; erat enim dies dominicus; deinde Lando proficiscens, eum minime repperit; iam enim abierat. Quo facto, sustinuit Lando reditum eius, illique revertenti dixit Lando et ceteri fratres; 'Quid egisti illuc, quo isti'? Quibus ille respondit verba bona verbaque consolatoria et deceptionibus plena. Hiis auditis et nimium creduli, acquieverunt credentes ei. Proinde Lando advertens fraternum dolum, set sompno sopitus et negligentia depressus, non intelligens telum latens, quo iaculabatur, donec transfigerentur fibrae iecoris eius, Teanum rediit sanaturus, ad quem Landonolfus, frater suus, invisere veniens, Landonolfus solus urbem relictus est.

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<sup>433</sup> Erchempert's chronology is confusing here; in ch. 56 Lando III had already died (885); these two chapters predate that event and show Atenolf's intent to seize power at Capua.

63. Then Lando, burning with the heat of fever, went to live at Teano, to be cared for with regard to the weakness which was holding him back. Meanwhile Atenolf set aside neither step nor mind from the matter he had begun, but being ready and burning to bring forth what he had conceived in his heart long ago, he was anxious to go to Naples without delay. When this reached Lando's ears, he instantly sent Alcisus and Aldelfrid to Capua to urge Atenolf to delay his journey, and he added: "Now after I have heard mass and finished eating, I will follow you." But after they went off and found Atenolf, they were unable to hold him back. It was the Lord's day; Lando started out then but just missed him, for he had already left. After this happened, Lando awaited his return, and when Atenolf returned, Lando said along with the rest of the brothers, "What did you do there? what about them?" Atenolf answered them with fair words and consolatory words full of deception. Hearing these things and being too credulous, they acquiesced, believing him. Then Lando gave heed to his brother's guile, but lulled by sloth and pressed down by carelessness, not understanding the hidden dart nor where it was being thrown until the fibers of his liver should be pierced through, he returned to Teano for his health, and when his brother Landonolf<sup>434</sup> came to visit him, Landulf

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<sup>434</sup> The second Landonolfus should be Landulfus, according to Waitz; n. s, 259.

was left alone in the city.

64. Cernens autem hoc Atenolfus, et videns sibi tempus adesset congruum, prius simulavit se cum coniuge et liberis ex civitate egredi et Calvum quasi habitaturus adire. Inter ista cum iuvenulis et pecunia ambitiosis paciscens, dato sacramento et promissis multis muneribus, dirrumpens iusiurandum, quod cum filiis Landonis ter iuraverat, cum [887] sompni tempus advenisset sabbatum post epyphaniam, [Ian. 7] hoc est 7. Ydus Ianuar., advocatis sodalibus suis, super filios Landonis irruit bellaturus; filii autem Landonis non segniter se preparaverunt adversus huiusmodi conamen, set fugientibus eis his in quibus confidebant, concussi sunt valide; maxime ex hoc turbabantur, quia putabant, quod Lando cum omnibus germanis suis in hoc adesset discidio. Videntes autem hii, destituti essent ab omnibus, cesserunt Atenolfo, et egredientes noctu ex urbe, Teanum advenerunt, Landonolfus, Pando et nepos eorum Guaiferius, clamitantibus eis a tergo de civitate: 'Nolite ire Teanum, quia certissime capiemini'! At illi Teanum appropiantes, esitare coeperunt, ne forsitan a Landone tenerentur astricti. Nunciato itaque adventu suo, officiosissime sunt suscepti.

64. Now Atenolf perceiving this, and seeing a suitable time was approaching for himself, first pretended that he was leaving the city with his wife and children as though he were going to live at Calvi. Meanwhile, he made an agreement with youths and those ambitious for money, with an oath of allegiance given and much money promised, and breaking his vow which he had sworn three times with Lando's sons, when the time for sleep had arrived on the sabbath [887] after Epiphany, the seventh day before the Ides of [Jan. 7] January, he called forth his secret associates and burst upon Lando's sons to wage war. Now Lando's sons had promptly prepared themselves against such a struggle, but

they were powerfully shaken by those running away to Atenolf's side from among those they had trusted; they were greatly thrown into confusion by this, because they were thinking that Lando with all of his brothers would approach during this dissension. But seeing that they had been abandoned by everyone, they yielded to Atenolf; and leaving the city at night they went to Teano--Landonolf, Pando, and their nephew Guaiferius--with people shouting behind them from the city: "Do not go to Teano, because you will surely be captured!" But drawing near Teano, they began to ask leave to enter, lest they be taken and bound. Having thus announced their arrival, they were received most courteously.<sup>435</sup>

65. Atenolfus gastaldatum Capuanum singulariter suscipiens, continuo se comitem appellari iussit, moxque filium suum Athanasio obsidem direxit, sicut sacramento pollicitus fuerat, Liguriam et Capuam sub iureiurando illo concessit; Athanasius vero retinuit illius sobolem, quousque pactum illi a Guidone duce repromissum susciperet dictus Atenulfus, acceptoque foedere Gallico, reddidit illi filium suum, et custodita est pax inter utrumque anno uno et mensibus tribus. Per idem tempus missis legatis idem Atenulfus Romam, Maionem venerabili abbate et Daufurio diacono, ut subderetur Stephano pio papae essetque illi proprius famulus; et promisit reddere Caietanos, quos pridem callide ceperat, adiuuaretque eum contra Saracenos Gariliano residentes; quae postea cuncta oblitus, ex his quae promiserat nil omnino adimplevit.

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<sup>435</sup> Perhaps a reflection of Lombard law; Rothair's Edict, no. 32, penalizes a freeman found in someone else's courtyard at night, "because it is not consistent with reason that a man should silently or secretly enter someone else's courtyard at night; if he has some useful purpose, he should call out before he enters;" Drew, Lombard Laws, 58 and n. 16, 241, noting concept of man's "peace," which extended to his house and courtyard.



65. After Atenolf took up the gastaldacy of Capua alone, he immediately gave an order that he should be called count and soon sent his own son as hostage to Athanasius, just as he had promised by oath of allegiance, and yielded Liguria and Capua to him under oath. Athansius kept his offspring for as long as Atenolf maintained the agreement which had been promised with duke Guido,<sup>436</sup> and accepting an alliance of the Frankish sort,<sup>437</sup> he returned his son to him, and peace was preserved between them both for one year and three months. During the same time Atenolf sent ambassadors to Rome, the venerable abbot Maione and the deacon Dauferius, to subject himself to the pious pope Stephan, and be as a personal servant to him; and he promised to return the Gaetans, whom he had long ago craftily captured, so that the pope might help him against the Saraceni living along the Garigliano. He later forgot these things altogether and fulfilled nothing whatsoever of those things which he had promised.

66. His quoque diebus Theophilactus stratigo a Vari Teanum hostiliter advenit yemis tempore, Saracenos temptans impugnare; nihilque proficiens, infructuosus abscessit; abiensque Neapolim, Marinum gastaldeum castris Sanctae

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<sup>436</sup> Ch. 58, in which the Capuans had subjected themselves to Guido after he drove off the Muslims from the Garigliano.

<sup>437</sup> foedus gallicus: Wickham interprets as a temporary oath of fealty, the closest thing in southern Italy to the Frankish conditional fief; Early Medieval Italy, 162.

Agathae Aioni rebellem percepit, et Apuliam rediens, nonnullas munitiones eiusdem Aionis vi apprehendit. Unde occasione accepta, idem Aio adversus augustalem dominium rebellionis iurgium initiavit, quod suo in loco inseretur.

66. Also at that time the stratigo Theophilactus came hostilely to Teano from Bari in the winter time, to attempt to attack the Saraceni; accomplishing nothing, he went away without profit. Leaving Naples, he seized Marinus, gastald of the fort of Sancta Agatha<sup>438</sup> who was rebelling against Aio, and returning to Apulia, he occupied several of Aio's fortifications by force. Taking up this opportunity, Aio initiated the strife of revolt against imperial control, which was being introduced into his own region.

67. Ante hoc sane tempus Guaimarius princeps Constantinopolim ad augustorum vestigia confisus accessit; a quibus benigne susceptus est, et patricius ab eis factus, cum honore ad propria remissus est. Cum autem adhuc illo moraretur, Athanasius dolorem conceptum in opus erumpens, Grecos et Neapolites seu omnes Capuanos generaliter movens, super Abellanum misit castrum, quo tunc preerat Landolfus Suessulanus. Mox autem ut illic supervenit exercitus, fraude illorum qui intro erant captum est, apprehenso in eo Landolfo et filio eius iuniore nurumque illius, uxore videlicet Landonis, qui cum Guaimario profectus fuerat.

67. Before this time the ruler Guaimarius<sup>439</sup> went to Constantinople, trusting in the footsteps of the emperors, by whom he was kindly received; after he had been made a

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<sup>438</sup> Sancta Agatha: probably the present Sant'Agata dei Goti, between Naples and Benevento.

<sup>439</sup> Guaimarius: ruler of Salerno, who in ch. 54 had received substantial help from the Byzantines against Islamic attack.

patrician by them,<sup>440</sup> he was sent back with honor to his own land. While he was still there, however, Athanasius burst out in an action conceived in resentment, inciting Greeks and Neapolitans and all the Capuans in general, and sent them to the fort above Avellino,<sup>441</sup> where at that time Landolf of Suessula was in command. Soon after the army arrived there unexpectedly, Landolf was captured through the deceit of those who were within, seized with his younger son and daughter-in-law, the wife of Lando, who had gone with Guaimarius.

68. His ita decursis, suasus Lando ab Adelgiso aliisque Capuanis, una cum Guaiferio quandam tractoriam plaustro vehentem intromissus, Capuanam urbem ingressus est atque ad episcopalem abiit aulam; ubi paucis ex suis congregati sunt; Atenolfo accelerante, tunc commissum est cor eorum qui in parte Landonis erant, et coeperunt illum relinquere et Atenolfo sociari; tunc, licet fincte, pacis osculum sibi mutuo fratres optulerunt, quod in arca cordis minime retinebant. Lando autem post ista cum Guaiferio ad [887] propria remeantes, reliqui consentanei illorum capti sunt et vinculis innexi; inter quos et Landolfus presul captus est et custodiae trusus. Post non multum tempus per singulos dies omnes absoluti sunt.

68. After those things had taken place, Lando,<sup>442</sup> persuaded by Adelchis and other Capuans, went with

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<sup>440</sup> Guaimarius was made patrician in 886 or early 887, at the beginning of Leo VI's reign, according to Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, I, 139.

<sup>441</sup> Avellino: ancient Abellinum, south of Benevento in a wide plain surrounded by mountains.

<sup>442</sup> Lando: apparently one of Atenolf's cousins, son of his cousin Landolf.

Guaiferius with a requisition for supplies<sup>443</sup> and a wagon to carry them, and they entered the city of Capua and went to the episcopal court, where a few of his men were assembled. Atenolf hastened in, a battle was engaged there, and after the distinguished Valanus died, those who were on Lando's side lost heart, and they began to abandon him and to become allied with Atenolf; there, it may be imagined, the cousins offered each other mutually the kiss of peace, which they scarcely held fast in the coffer of [887] their hearts. Now Lando after those events went back to his own country with Guaiferius; the rest of their supporters were seized and fastened together with chains; among them the bishop Landolf was also captured and pushed into custody. After a short time they were all released, one each day.

69. In diebus illis quando Atenolfus gastaldatus regendi iura adeptus est, omnia quaeque Benedictus infra urbem Capuanam possedit fratribus exulantibus auferri precepit; qua de re missus ab Angelario venerabili abbate ego ipse vestigia apostolorum, adii Stephanum summum pontificem, postulaturus pro rebus nostris ablatis; a quo et benedictionem fratribus detuli et privilegium nostri coenobii et supradicto viro litteras exortatorias attuli. Dominicalis res ablata reddita est, mea autem ex toto subtracta; in proximo etiam cellam mihi ab abbate traditam,

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<sup>443</sup> tractoria: likely something similar to the tractoria described by Ganshof, a document from the Merovingian period ordering agents of the king to provide the bearer with food, transport, and lodging; under the Carolingians, carried by missi for the same purposes; The Carolingians, 127 and n. 20, 137-38; 174 and n. 143, 196; Pin's translation reflects this idea as well: "un carro che trasportava materiale requisito;" (a wagon which transported requisitioned supplies), 231.

concepto dolore, vi abstulit.

69. At the time when Atenolf had acquired the authority for ruling as gastald, everything which the Benedictine order possessed within the city of Capua he ordered to be taken away from the exiled brothers; because of this I myself was sent by the venerable abbot Angelarius in the footsteps of the apostles and went to the high pontiff Stephan,<sup>44</sup> to make a claim for our property which had been taken away. I brought away from him both a blessing for the brothers and an immunity (privilegium) on behalf of our community, and I brought letters of encouragement from him. The Lord's property which had been taken away was restored, but everything of mine had been removed; soon, even the cella<sup>45</sup> given to me by the abbot (what a painful blow!) Atenolf took away by force.

70. Interea cum Atenolfus iam memoratus Capuanos cepisset, advertens Athanasius Capuam fortiter concussam, coepit occasionem quaerere adversus Atenolfum et obsides ab eo seu et pacem innovare. Decurrentibus inter alterutros missis, Maio supradictus abbas et Ausencius Neapolim profecti sunt; quos Athanasius ad amphiteatrum ire precepit,

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<sup>44</sup> Pope Stephen V, 885-891.

<sup>45</sup> Cellae: small monastic communities or oratories, many in the countryside; discussion in Taviani-Carozzi, La Principauté, I, 49-50; Cilento notes cellae founded by the nobility, later targets for Islamic raiders; Le origini, 162-65; Leo notes a recently-built cella at Teano honoring Saint Benedict, to which Monte Cassino's monks had fled in 883, and other dependent cellae at Teate and Penne; Chron. I, ch's 44, 45.

simulque Atenolfum illuc adesse voluit, quatenus, firmato foedere una cum Guaiferio consule, filium suum cum aliquantis e Capua obsidem mitteret. Hoc autem faciens, insidias tetendit latenter cum Grecis et suis ad capiendum illos. Set quia, ut conicitur, adhuc non erat completa malitia, quae post paululum divinitus punienda est, facta morula, set et filium suum infra urbem clausit, supradictos viros misit arenam; egressusque statim Graiorum cuneus, supradictos apprehendit viros cum aliis et depredavit totam Capuam graviter; moxque sine delatione cunctum equitatum et pedestrem exercitum mittens, omnia sata Capuae succidi exterminarique fecit funditus.

70. Meanwhile when Atenolf had seized the Capuans,<sup>446</sup> Athanasius turned vigorously to the stricken Capua and began to seek an opportunity against Atenolf either by hostages from him or by renewing the peace. With messengers hastening between one and the other, the abbot Maio and Ausencius hurried to Naples; Athanasius ordered them to go to the amphitheater and wanted Atenolf to go there also, since an alliance had been confirmed together with the consul Guaiferius that Atenolf should send his own son as hostage with others from Capua. With this done, Athanasius laid a trap secretly with the Greeks and his own followers to capture them. But, as it is conjectured, because this maliciousness had not yet been completed which after a little would be punished by heaven, a brief delay occurred and Atenolf shut his son within the city and sent the other men to the amphitheater. The formation of Greek troops left at once and seized the men along with others and severely

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<sup>446</sup> Ch. 68, during the attempt to collect supplies.

ravaged all of Capua. Soon Athanasius sent a whole army of horsemen and foot soldiers without delay and had all of Capua's crops cut down and completely removed.<sup>447</sup>

[888] 71. Presciens autem Deus dicti viri malitiam et volens prestare Capuanis misericordiam in tam crudeli impiaque persecutione, permisit eundem Athanasium in tantam elationem prorumpere, ut etiam Beneventi fines bis terque predari faceret. Aio autem tunc Vari degens, impugnabat Grecos impugnantes se. Qui hoc audiens, ilico, segnitie deposita, ferme cum tribus milibus bellatoribus clanculo veniens castrum in Abellinum; ubi autem intellexit, Grecos cum Neapolitibus residere super Capuam radicatusque eam devastare, ilico recto itinere super eos audacter adventare studuit; set quidam naturaliter zizaniorum sator Dauferius, Dauferii nostri genitor, urbe Beneventi egressus subdole acsi secuturus principem, ex diverso Capuam cursim properavit et dicto exercitui adventum indicavit Aionis; at illi, relictis Capua, precipites Neapolim reversi sunt. Aio autem iter quod coeperat peregit, illisque minime repertis, Liguriam ingressus est; cum quo et Atenolfus abiit; ex exusta tota pene Liguria ac depredata, populisque et bestiis ablatis, puteisque saxo oppilatis, amphiteatrum profectus est; quo residens, per aliquot dies machinis et diversis telis fortiter expugnavit illi; indeque habiens, super castrum Sanctae Agathae insedit, atque Marinum gastaldeum sibi rebellem in fide ad se remeantem suscipiens, abscessit; aliquandiu Benevento commorans, per Sepontum Varim reversus est.

[888] 71. Now with God knowing beforehand the malice of Athanasius and wishing to offer mercy to the Capuans during such a cruel and wicked persecution, he permitted Athanasius to break out with such exaltation that he caused even the territory of Benevento to be plundered two or three times.

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<sup>447</sup> These attacks seem to mark the end of the "Frankish treaty" of fifteen months' duration between Atenolf and Athanasius, discussed in ch. 65.

Now Aio,<sup>448</sup> living then at Bari, was attacking the Greeks who were attacking him. Hearing of this (the pillaging of Benevento), he responded instantly and came with almost three thousand warriors secretly to the fort at Avellino; when he perceived that Greeks with Neapolitans were settled above Capua and utterly destroying it, he was eager to advance upon them at once by the most direct route; but a certain Dauferius, father of our Dauferius and by nature a sower of discord, left the city of Benevento craftily as though to follow the prince and hurried quickly to Capua by another route and announced the approach of Aio's army. The Greeks left Capua behind in haste and returned to Naples. Aio continued the march he had begun, and not finding them at all went into Liguria, and Atenolf went with him. After he burned and plundered almost all of Liguria and carried away people and animals and stopped up the wells with rock, he hurried to the amphitheater. Remaining there, he vigorously attacked it for some days with diverse machines and weapons; going on from there, he settled above the fort of Saint Agatha. Then he departed, taking the gastald Marinus who was rebelling against him as a guarantee until he should come back; and remaining for awhile at Benevento, he returned to Bari by way of Siponto.

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<sup>448</sup> Aio: prince of Benevento 884-890, and when last seen (ch. 66) beginning to rebel against the Byzantines, who were threatening his territory.



72. Atenolfus autem Aioni se subdens per sacramentum, ab eodem in adiutorium sui 120 ferme bellatores viros suscepit, cum quibus graviter totam Liguriam depredavit. Set quia nonnumquam desperatio periculum gignere solet, generaliter moti Materenses e Calvo et aliquanti Capuanis cum dictis Apuliensibus iuncti, Liguriam circumeuntes, Suessulam depredarunt et reverti coeperunt; quibus occurrit Grecorum Neapolitumque exercitus iuxta rivulum Lanii, atque [888] in unum mixti, supervalebat pars Atenolfi partem Gragicam; set superveniens scara theatralis, a tergo et in medio circumsepti, devicti sunt, partim capti partimque gladiis extincti sunt. Hac de causa audaciam sumens Athanasius, bellum coepit expetere; unde Atenolfus non segnis redditus, continuo cum suis Atellam abiit, dumque prelium non invenisset, reversus est ad sua.

72. Atenolf now subjected himself to Aio by an oath of allegiance and received from him almost one hundred twenty fighting men as support, with whom he violently laid waste all of Liguria. But because despair sometimes begets risk, those from Matera and considerable numbers of others took up the general movement from Calvi, and the Apulians joined the Capuans; going around Liguria, they plundered Suessula and began to return. The army of Greeks and Neapolitans met them near the river Lanus, and Atenolf's forces, mingled [888] into one, prevailed over the Greek side; but a band of warriors from the amphitheater arrived unexpectedly and surrounded them from the back and in the middle, and they were completely defeated, part being captured and part killed by sword. For this reason, Athanasius grew bold and began to demand war; Atenolf, recovering promptly, immediately went away with his men to Atella, and when Athanasius could not meet with battle, he returned to his

own land.

73. Cum non multo post, instigante inimico humano generi, collecto Athanasius multitudine exercitu mixto Grecorum, Neapolitensium et Hismaelitarum, equitantium et pedestrium, misitque illos adversus Capuam pugnatorios. Quibus occurrit Atenolfus ultra rivulum Lanii iuxta Sanctum Carcium, habens in comitatu suo auxiliares ab Aione missos necnon et Saracenos. Saraceni vero ex utraque parte iuncti steterunt, nulli eorum prebentes auxilium. Atenolfus talia cernens, acrius super inimicos suos insurgens ac primo impetu potenti virtute superans, protrivit eos usque ad ultimam perniciem, occisis ex eis plurimis multisque captis, reliquos oppido fugere compulit victorque triumphans ad castra honestatus ac laetus cum suis omnibus repedavit; de suis autem preter unum amisit Alderico nomine, et ipsum a suis, ut fertur, occisum. Ab hoc sane die coepit iam quasi potens esse Atenolfus et Athanasius impotens. Hinc inchoavit omnia sata eorum qui in colossum morabantur diripere cunctaque bona eorum vehiculis diversis ad urbem trahi.

73. Not much later, with the enemy of the human race goading him, Athanasius gathered a numerous mixed army of Greeks, Neapolitans and Ismaelites, horsemen and foot soldiers, and sent them to attack Capua. Atenolf met them beyond the river Lanius near Santo Carzio,<sup>49</sup> having among his retinue auxiliaries sent by Aio and also Saraceni. But the Saraceni associated with both sides stood firm, none of them offering help. When Atenolf saw such a thing, he rose more fiercely against his enemies, and overcoming them in the first onslaught with mighty valor, he crushed them with great destruction, killing most of them and capturing many,

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<sup>49</sup> Santo Carzio: between Capua and Naples in the territory of Aversa (where the Normans gained their first foothold in Campania, according to Kreutz, Before the Normans, 152, 155).

and compelling the rest to flee the town. Triumphant, he went back a victor to the fort, honored and rejoicing with all of his men. From his own forces moreover he lost only one, Alderic by name, killed by his own men, it is said. Truly from this day it seemed that Atenolf was now powerful and Athanasius powerless. He began for this reason to seize the crops of those who remained in the amphitheater and to have all of their property dragged in different carts to the city.

74. Hoc quoque quod narro omnes audiant aures, prout Dominus saepe parabolice sequacibus suis dicebat: 'Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat', ut omnis pavescat homo, stupeat et ad Deum revertatur vel sero, ne, [si] obstinatus animo remanserit, contingat illi illud quod Dathan et Abiron superbientibus advenit necnon et Choraë cum fautoribus suis evenisse dinoscitur. Gualferius enim prefectus harenarum, qui pene omnia mala quae facta sunt in diebus eius ipse opere suo gessit fecitque patrare, cuius prestigio Romana tellus depopulata est, Beneventana regio funditus desolata est, ab hoc et initium et finis accepit; idcirco Dei iudicio hoc modo illius scelus facinorosus finis explevit; nam subito superna inspirante gratia, a quo bonum omne procedit, in illum excitati illi, a quibus ipse putabatur salvari, mutata mente in eum surgentes apprehenderunt, bonaque eius diripientes vincxerunt, revertentes nihilominus ad solum, de quo numquam diabolice abscisi sunt, ipsumque proconsulem despicabilem Capuam, Atenolfo consentientes, remiserunt, pane tribulationis et aqua angustiae suggillaturum. Hoc facto, universi, qui a propria sede olim fuerant superbe exulati, ad sua obedientes reversi sunt. Factumque gaudium magnum, pax et securitas; coeperuntque preesse qui subesse soliti erant, et qui per trecentos et eo amplius annos imperaverant legibus preesse coeperunt his qui cum Saracenis vicerant per aliquod soles. Tunc coepit cohors Bardica triumphans regnare super eos, quos semper armis subegerant.

74. Let all ears hear what I say, as the Lord often said to his followers by parable: "He who has ears to hear,

let him hear,"<sup>450</sup> that every man might become alarmed and be astonished and turn again to God or else, too late, remain stubborn in spirit, so that the same thing happens to him which is known to have befallen Dathan and Abiram and Korah and their supporters.<sup>451</sup> For it was Guaiferius, the commander of the amphitheater, who carried out and had completed by his own effort nearly all of the evils which were accomplished in his time, by whose deceptions Roman earth was ravaged and Beneventan territory utterly desolated and from this received its beginning and end. For that reason by the judgment of God the criminal wickedness of that man fulfilled its purpose in this way; for suddenly, with the inbreathing of heavenly grace from which every good proceeds, those things were aroused in him by which he was thought to be saved and his heart changed. Atenolf's followers rose up and conquered him and tore away his property and returned it to the land, from which it had never been cut off by the devil, and they sent the contemptible commander back to Capua, to be bruised with the bread of affliction and the water of distress.<sup>452</sup> This

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<sup>450</sup> Matthew 13:43.

<sup>451</sup> Dathan, a Reubenite, along with Abiram, Korah, and two hundred fifty leaders of Israel, conspired against the exclusive leadership of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num. 16:1-40); they lost in a ritual contest with Aaron and the earth "swallowed" them alive as their punishment.

<sup>452</sup> Deut. 16:3, where no leavened bread is to be eaten during passover, "even the bread of affliction;" 1 Kings 22:27, where the king's enemy, the prophet Micaiah, is to be

done, all those who had been arrogantly exiled from their own homes some time ago were willingly sent back. And great joy came about, peace and security; and they began to be in command who were accustomed to be subordinate, and those who had governed there for three hundred or more years by law began to be in command of those who had prevailed with the Saraceni for some time. Then a Lombardic company, triumphing, began to rule over them, whom they had always subjugated by arms.<sup>453</sup>

75. Interea videns Athanasius se in omnibus superatum, pudore obiectae pacis expetiit foedus; quod adeptus est, previtoque iureiurando, pacti sunt ad invicem. Primum tamen sacramentum sistebat roborem aut mensem aut tempus annotinum; istud autem nec ad diem duravit duodecimum. Denique Hismaelitae hac illacque discurrentes, invitantur ab omnibus, omnia devorant, universa consumunt, et contra Neapolim unanimiter consurgunt; aequo valde examine ipsumque supernum iaculatus est solium, ab his procul dubio percelleretur, cum quibus christicolum genus pene omne protriverat; prout Iohannes dicit in Apocalipsis, immo et Dominus per Iohannem, de Babilone: 'Quantumcumque ministravit vobis, ministrare illi; in poculo, quo miscuit, miscite illi duplum'. Haec autem audientes, nolite cor apponere, quod Deus hoc meritis alicuius prelati fecerit, set sua misericordia et miseriis hominum egerit nanctus, ut ipse per psalmistam dicit: 'Invoca me in die tribulationis tuae, eripiam te, et magnificabis me'. Nam peccatori dicit: 'Quare tu enarras iustitias meas' etc. quousque ait: 'Haec fecisti, et tacui, existimasti iniquitatem; in quo ergo ero tibi similis'? In una tamen re moveor, quod cum dicat apostolus: 'Nonne qui predat et ipse predaverit'? quid

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imprisoned, "and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction..."

<sup>453</sup> The poetic touches in this chapter (sol for day, Bardica for Lombard) are reminiscent of Erchempert's dedicatory poem to Aio, which Westerbergh thinks was written during this triumphant period; discussion in Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry, 15.

ergo erit de his qui predant proximos et proximas traduntque prostibulo? Itane predabuntur deinde? Sicuti enim Neapolites vastantur, qui vastarunt, ita et nos forsan devorabimur, qui nunc devorantes sumus. Beati ergo, qui Domino custodiente immunes ab hac seculi procella existunt, ubi omne malum et nullum sine Domino bonum regnat, et in aeterna munerantur vita, qua omnis felicitas et beatitudo perempnis floret in secula seculorum. Amen.

75. Meanwhile Athanasius, seeing that he was overcome in all things, from shame for the peace which had been given up sought a treaty; he obtained this, and with an oath tainted beforehand they made an agreement between them.<sup>454</sup> The earlier oath had stood firm however for either a month or for a year's time,<sup>455</sup> but this one did not last to the twelfth day. At length the Ismaelites, running about here and there, were summoned by everybody, devoured everything, exhausted everything, and rose unanimously against Naples; with equal force the heavenly throne itself was struck; without doubt it might have been overthrown by them, with whom the Christian race had trampled down nearly everything. Just as John said in Apocalypse, or rather the Lord through John, concerning Babylon: "Howevermuch was given you, give to him; with whatever is mixed in the cup, mix double for him."<sup>456</sup> Now hearing these things, do not refuse to place

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<sup>454</sup> Between Athanasius (Naples) and Atenolf (Capua).

<sup>455</sup> Ch. 65, the "Frankish" agreement which lasted fifteen months.

<sup>456</sup> Apocalypse (last book of the New Testament, or Revelations) 18:6: "Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath

them next to your heart, because God has caused this to be offered for anyone's merit, but he has also acted through his mercy, having come upon man's miseries, as he himself said through the psalmist: "Call upon me in the day of your tribulation, that I may rescue you, and you shall glorify me." For he said to the sinner: "Strive that you recount fully my righteousness" and so on, until he said: "You have done these things, and I have not spoken; you have judged your iniquity; in what therefore will I be like you?"<sup>457</sup>

One thing disturbs me nevertheless, about what the apostle<sup>458</sup> says: "Is not the one who robs also the one who shall have profited?" What therefore will be the case with those who rob their neighbors and deliver women to prostitution? Are they not to be robbed next in this way? Indeed just as the Neapolitans are ravaged, who are themselves ravaging, thus also may we perhaps be devoured, who are now devourers. Blessed therefore are those who by the watchfulness of the Lord are immune from this stormy age, where every evil and nothing good may reign without the Lord, and may they be rewarded with eternal life, by which every felicity and perpetual happiness may flourish forever

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filled fill to her double." (King James version.)

<sup>457</sup> These passages come from Psalms 50:15-21.

<sup>458</sup> Waitz substitutes prophet for apostle (n. 1, 263) for this passage based on Isaiah 33:1: "Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled. . . when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled. . ." (King James version.)

and ever. Amen.

76. Aio denique a Benevento per Sepontum Varim profectus, super quam Constantinum augustorum aulicum et patricium insidentem repperit, rebelles imperatorum viriliter impugnantem; adversus quem dictus Aio, fultus auxilio Hismaelitarum et vallatus agmine pedestrium Apuliensium, audenter insurgens, primo impetu victor existens, de hostibus plures interfecit. Dehinc [a] Constantino, qui cum tribus milibus equis in tuto consistebat in loco, valide contritus, vix cum aliquantis urbem ingredi valuit Varim; reliquos aut gladiis aut tradidit captivitati. Ipse autem Grecorum obsitus vallo, infra urbem occultatur, sustinens suffragium Atenolfi, quem pridem protexerat, et non invenit; nam et Gallos et Agarenos promissis aureis saepius mixtim invitans, optinere nequivit.

76. At length Aio hastened from Benevento by way of Siponto to Bari, above which he discovered Constantine settled, patrician of the imperial court, vigorously attacking those rebelling against the emperor. Aio boldly rushed in against him, supported by Ismaelites and fortified by an army of foot soldiers from Apulia, and was the victor at the first charge, killing many of the enemy. Then Aio was powerfully pounded by Constantine, who was standing firm in a secure place with three thousand horsemen, and Aio was scarcely able to enter the city of Bari with some of his forces; the rest he surrendered either to the sword or into captivity. He was covered by the ramparts of the Greeks and concealed within the city, awaiting support from Atenolf, whom he had long protected and whose help he had not obtained; he was also unable to obtain Franks or Agareni although he often invited them, promising gold.



77. Atenolfus ergo cum Athanasio pacem interim custodita fere bis senis diebus, scisso foedere, utraque pars ad predam prorupit; set Capuani prevalidiores effecti, per se et cum Saracenis graviter Neapolim circumquaque vastantes lacerant, ut ignis consumantes omnia; aequo Dei iudicio, ut, qui Saracenis innumerabiles christicolae gladiis et captivitatibus tradidit bonisque eorum ditatus est, non immerito ab his flagelletur, rodatur et depredetur, ut Salomon ait: 'Quis medebitur incantatori a serpente semel percusso'?

77. Then Atenolf and Athanasius, who had meanwhile preserved a peace of scarcely twice six days' duration, rushed out on each side for plunder after the alliance had been torn apart; but the Capuans had become very powerful, and on their own or with Saraceni severely shattered and destroyed everything around Naples, consuming everything as would a fire. By the righteous judgment of God, whoever had handed over numberless Christians to the sword and as captives to the Saraceni and had been enriched by their wealth, was not undeservedly lashed, gnawed, and plundered by them, as Solomon said: "Who will heal the enchanter once he is struck by the serpent?"<sup>459</sup>

78. Interea Atenolfus post episcopi captionem cunctumque clerum sacramento revinctum ad nova se contulit et recentia iura legis; nam monachos beati Benedicti pro rebus perditis iurare compulit, quibus cessum fuerat ab omnibus retro principibus cunctisque augustis Gallicis, sacramentum per se nulli homini dandum, nisi per scariones; se autem in huiusmodi negotio sapientiores ac potiores ostendens prioribus.

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<sup>459</sup> Eccles. 10:11: "Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment. . ."

78. Meanwhile Atenolf, after the capture of the bishop (Landulf) and the binding back once more of all clergy to their oath, turned to new and recent authorities of law; he now compelled the monks of the blessed Benedict to swear as to property which had been lost, to whom it had been granted by all rulers in the past and by all Frankish emperors, an oath which should be given by themselves to no man, except through substitutes; moreover he held himself out in such matters as wiser and better than the abbots.<sup>460</sup>

79. Defuncto autem Lamberto, filio Guidonis senioris, filio suo Spoletium reliquit, quo etiam decedente, Guido iunior Spoletium et Camerinum suscipiens, cum Saracenis in Sepino castrametatis pacem fecit, obsidibus datis et acceptis; cuius etiam tempore supradicta coenobia, urbes et oppida omnia a Saracenis capta et exusta sunt. Regiam ad urbem legationem dirigens, contra ius faciens, pecuniam [883] accepit; quam ob rem a Carlo tertio augusto captus est, et nisi fugam arripuisset, capite plecteretur. Unum quippe illius narro factum aut indissimile, quod in Gariliano gestum est. Denique cum a Seponto idem dux, Atenolfo comitante, Capuam pergeret, in loco quo Caudi dicitur Arranem Hismaelitam, tirannum crudelissimum, cum trecentis pene sequacibus suis peremit. Cognoscens autem [887] Guido Carlum augustum seminecem iacere, cupiditate regnandi devictus deceptusque a contribulibus suis,

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<sup>460</sup> se . . . sapientiore ac potiore ostendens prioribus: an alternative might be: "showing himself wiser and better than his predecessors;" Pin interprets scariones as soldiers; here understood as substitutes (as found in Niermeyer), reflecting prohibition against swearing by monks: Saint Benedict's Rule, Instruments of Good Works, no. 27: Not to swear at all, lest one foreswears; Ganshof points out that in administering the oath of fidelity throughout Charlemagne's kingdom in 793, the missi were to see that abbots "made the members of their communities promise--they were not to swear--fidelity;" this applied to Benedictine monks and other clerics leading a conventual life; discussion in Carolingians, 114 and n. 25, 120.

relinquens Beneventanam provinciam sibi subacta et Spolitensium ducatum, abiit Galliam regnaturus; Beneventi quidem tellus a Grecis capitur, Spoletium depredatur ab Agarenis, ipse autem manet invisus et inauditus; cum vero paruerit et auditus fuerit, quid dixerit vel quid egerit, scire volentibus per ordinem narrabo.

79. Now after Lambert died (the son of lord Guido), Spoleto was left to his son, who also died, and Guido the younger received Spoleto and Camerino and made peace with the Saraceni who were encamped at Sepino,<sup>461</sup> with hostages given and received; during his time the religious communities and cities and towns mentioned earlier were seized and burned by the Saraceni.<sup>462</sup> Guido sent an embassy to the royal city (Constantinople), acting against [883] the law, and he accepted money; because of this he was seized by the emperor Charles the Third (Charles the Fat), and if he had not taken flight, he would have been punished with capital punishment.<sup>463</sup> One of Guido's deeds which happened along the Garigliano is similar, which I will relate here. Briefly, when the duke, with Atenolf accompanying him, was proceeding to Capua from Siponto, at a place which is called Caudi<sup>464</sup> he killed the cruel

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<sup>461</sup> Sepino: Roman Saepinum, sacked in the ninth century by the Muslims and refounded on higher ground.

<sup>462</sup> In the early 880s, ch. 44.

<sup>463</sup> Charles the Fat (879-887, emperor 881); Guido (Guy) III of Spoleto rebelled against him and sought Byzantine support; discussed in Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 169-71.

<sup>464</sup> Caudi: Caudinas Furculas (Caudine Forks); see ch. 17.

Ismaelite tyrant Arranis, with nearly three hundred of his [887] followers. Now Guido (knowing that the emperor Charles lay dying), overcome by his ambition for ruling and deceived by his partisans, left the province of Benevento and the duchy of Spoleto subjected to himself and went to Francia to become king. In fact the country of Benevento was captured by the Greeks, Spoleto was ravaged by the Agareni, and he himself moreover remained unseen and unheard. When in fact he became visible and was heard, what he said or what he did, I shall tell in the right order for those wishing to know.

[888] 80. Interea Aione obsessio infra urbem Varim a Grecis atque auxilium exflagitantem a Gallis et suis, Atenolfus titubans Athanasii minas, legatos suos ad Constantinum patricium destinavit, quo residebat super dictam urbem, et foedus cum eo statuens pacis, vires resistendi Aioni astu doloso avertit. His et huiusmodi argumentorum decipulis dictus Aio cernens se delusum, doluit; tandem necessitate cohortans cum memorato patricio pacem faciens, urbem remisit et ad propria remeavit, Atenolfo et Maioni abbati, qui supra fata legatione functus fuerat, aut frustra minitans. Eadem tempestate dum idem Atenolfus Dauferium, nostrum dyaconem, recte disponderet Tarantum et inde regiam ad urbem transmitteret, ipsumque questum esse adversus eum de inopia, oborta alterutrum contentione, ad invicem sequestrati sunt, et Atenolfo incubante Capuam, Dauferius Teanum commoraturus properavit; paulo post concordia composita, ad eum a quo se separaverat regressus est.

[888] 80. While Aio was besieged by the Greeks within the city of Bari and was demanding help from the Franks and their allies, Atenolf faltered from Athanasius's threats and sent his own ambassadors to the patrician Constantine, who

was settled above Bari; he established a treaty of peace with him and with deceitful cunning turned Aio's men away from remaining there. Aio was grieved, discerning from the evidence that he had been deceived; at length, animated by necessity, he made peace with Constantine, gave up the city, and went back to his own country, threatening Atenolf and the abbot Maio (who had served as ambassador), not without reason.<sup>465</sup> At that time, when Atenolf would rightly have placed Dauferius, our deacon, at Taranto and would have sent him from there to the royal city, Dauferius complained against him because of poverty, and after contention rose between them, they withdrew from one another;<sup>466</sup> with Atenolf brooding over Capua, Dauferius hastened to Teano to stay there; after a little while they made peace, and he went back to Atenolf from whom he had been separated.

81. Per idem tempus Greci navaliter a Constantinopolim ad Regium tellurem adventantes, ex diverso et Hismaelitae ab Africa et Sicilia properantes, utrique iunexerunt se inter Messanam urbem Siciliae et Regium; et confligentes parumper mutuo, victi sunt Greci, tantoque metu territi sunt reliqui Achivi qui remanserunt, ut tam viri quam feminae et parvuli, relictis utriusque civitatibus cum omnibus, subsidium adepti sunt, nemine contrahens bella. Set ut talia permiserit divina aequitas illi belluinae gentis, econtra narrabo brevius. Achivi autem, ut habitudinis similes sunt, ita

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<sup>465</sup> Aut frustra minitans: Waitz interprets aut as haud (by no means, not at all); n. 1, 264.

<sup>466</sup> Gay thinks that Atenolf intended to send Dauferius to Constantinople in order to obtain a title, which would make him an equal to his rival, the prince of Salerno, who had done this (ch. 67, where Guaimarius was made patrician); L'Italie meridionale, I, 144.

animo aequales sunt bestiis, vocabulo christiani, set moribus tristiores Agarensis. Hii videlicet et per se fidelium omnes predabant et Saracenis emebant, et ex his alios venales oceani litora farciebant, alios vera in famulos et famulas reservabant. Talia et his similia animadvertens Deus, tradidit illos in opprobrium et in devorationem, ut pereant et recogitent et intelligant, quia in operibus suis diris Deum iaculati sunt. Acta sunt haec in arto spatio maris, quod dirimit Regium a Sicilia, qui locum olim tellus erat, set moderno tempore a Fari aequore [888] occupatus est. Haec itaque gesta sunt anno Domini 888, mense Octubr.

81. Throughout that time a Greek fleet from Constantinople approached land near Reggio, and Ismaelites from Africa and Sicily hastened from the other direction. Both forces were stretched out together between the city of Messina in Sicily and Reggio, and after they had fought each other for a little while, the Greeks were conquered; the Greeks who remained were terrified with such great fear of being left behind, that as many men as women and children left both cities with everything and overtook the reserve troops, with no one making war. But as to how divine fairness permitted such things to that race of beasts, I shall briefly relate. Now the Greeks, as in appearance they are similar to beasts, so are they equal in spirit; in name they are Christians, but in practices sadly like Agareni. Clearly they robbed all of the faithful on their own behalf and procured them for the Saraceni, and from them they filled up the sea-shores with some for sale as slaves, but others they kept back as men and women servants. God noticed such actions and others similar to them and

delivered them into dishonor and destruction, so that they might be undone and reflect and understand, because in their fearful actions they had struck at God. These things took place in the narrow space of sea which divides Reggio from Sicily, which formerly was land but in modern times was seized by the Faro sea. And thus were these things carried [888] out in the year of the Lord 888, in the month of October.

82. Hoc etiam anno revertens Guido ad Italiam, quo principare cupit set optinere nequivit, in Italia iuxta civitatem Brecianam cum Berengario et ipso duce confligit; in quo nimirum conflictu utriusque partis acies crudeliter caesa est; spolia autem caesorum a Berengario recollecta sunt; pacti sunt tamen ad invicem usque in epyphania, qui [889] celebrantur 8. Ydus Ianuar. Cum autem uterque se [Ian.] iunxerit ad pactum vel ad bellandum, quod deinceps egerint, presenti opusculo inseram.

82. Also in this year Guido returned to Italy because he desired to rule [the Franks] but was unable to achieve this; in Italy near the city of Brescia he came into combat with Berengar;<sup>467</sup> the army of each side was cruelly cut to pieces in this battle and the spoils of the dead were gathered up by Berengar. They made an agreement together however until Epiphany, which was celebrated on the eighth

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<sup>467</sup> Berengar I of Friuli (888-924), supporter of Louis the German, uncle of Louis II; the deposition in 887 of Louis's other uncle, Charles the Fat, who had ruled in France, led to civil war between German and French factions, the latter of which Guido of Spoleto (889-894) supported, thus the clash reported in this chapter; Wickham summarizes this period in Early Medieval Italy, 168-71.

[889] day before the Ides of January. And the times when  
[Jan.] both of them joined together in agreement or for  
warfare, which they did in succession, I will add to the  
present little work.



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## Glossary

- annus embolismus.** Embolistic year, having thirteen new moons as opposed to one with twelve.
- apocrisarius (apocrisarios).** A delegate or deputy who performs a duty in place of another.
- baiulus (bajulus).** Governor acting in place of the emperor.
- candidatus.** Papal life-guard or imperial guardsman.
- cella.** Small monastic community or oratory.
- chirographum.** Document, deed, charter.
- contribulis.** Partisan, clansman, kinsman, countryman.
- diaria.** Daily rations.
- gastaldatus.** Area of authority of gastald; sometimes whole of possessions of which gastald has use or enjoyment because of his position.
- gastaldeus (castaldeus, gastaldius).** Administrative and judicial officer appointed by duke or prince to a city and its district (civitas).
- marepahissatum.** Marshalship or role as military commander; from early Lombard usage: mar, märe, horse, and paizan, to put on the bit.
- nummus.** A lesser coin, perhaps equivalent to a denarius, a Roman silver coin, later minted under Carolingians and worth one twelfth of a Byzantine gold solidus.
- scara.** Band of warriors, often specially designated for small, rapid missions.

**scario.** Substitute.

**sceda (schaedis, scheda, scida).** Charter; written instrument or instructions; contract granting privileges or immunities.

**stratigo (strategus, strategos).** Governor of a province in Byzantine Italy.

**tractoria.** Document dating to Merovingian period ordering king's agents to provide bearer with food, transport, and lodging; hence, a type of requisition.

**zetula (Waitz, mansiuncula).** Small house or holding.

**zizanium.** Discord.

## Chronology

- c. 527: Benedict of Nursia founds monastery at Monte  
Cassino
- 568: Lombards invade Italy
- c. 571: Zotto establishes duchy at Benevento
- c. 590: Lombards destroy monastery at Monte Cassino
- c. 717: Re-founding of Monte Cassino by Petronax
- 774: Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne's forces
- 774: Arichis II proclaims himself Prince of Benevento
- 812: Muslims raid Ischia
- 817: Grimoald IV murdered and succeeded by Sico;  
attacks against Naples intensified
- 820: Muslims begin conquest of Sicily
- 832 Muslims capture Palermo
- 833 Death of Sico, succeeded by Sicard
- 834 Sicard exiles brother Siconolf to Taranto
- 835: Duke Andreas of Naples brings in Muslims against  
Lombard attacks
- 839: Death of Sicard and beginning of civil war between  
Radelchis and Siconolf
- 840: Death of Louis the Pious; Frankish kingdom divided  
into five parts
- 840: Defection of Capua from Benevento's authority  
under Landolf I
- 840: Sergius I becomes duke at Naples; founds dynasty

- c. 841: Old Capua destroyed by Muslims and residents  
evacuated to Sicopolis
- 843: Landolf I of Capua dies; four sons divide  
rulership
- 844: Louis II crowned rex langobardorum
- 846: Muslims attack Rome
- 846: Lothar and Louis II's first campaign in Italy  
against Muslims
- 847: Bari falls to Muslims; first emirate under Kalfûn,  
847-852
- c. 849: Divisio between Radelchis and Siconolf, dividing  
principality between Benevento and Salerno
- 850: Louis II crowned emperor
- 854: Ademarius given rulership of Salerno by Louis II
- 855: Death of Lothar; Frankish kingdom divided into  
five parts
- 856: Sicopolis burns; new Capua founded at Casilinum by  
Landolf and Landonolf
- 858: Guido of Spoleto besieges new Capua for non-  
obedience to Ademarius of Salerno
- 860: Lando I dies and brothers (Pando and bishop  
Landolf) begin conflict with Lando's sons
- 860s: Sawdân's forces pillaging Beneventan  
territory
- 861: Ademarius deposed at Salerno and succeeded by  
Guaiferius

- 862: Pandonolf established as count of Capua by uncle,  
bishop Landolf
- 866: Louis II's attack on Capua after failure to enlist  
Capuan support against Muslims
- 867: Basil I (the Macedonian) becomes Byzantine  
emperor; Louis II's campaign begins in Apulia  
for retaking of Bari
- 871: February: Bari taken by forces of Louis II
- 871: August-September: Louis II imprisoned at  
Benevento by Adelchis
- 871: Muslims besiege and blockade Salerno
- 872: Louis II sends army to attack Muslims at Capua
- 875: Death of Louis II; Charles the Bald crowned  
emperor
- c. 876: Lombard gastald hands Bari to Byzantine baiulus,  
Gregory
- 876: Athanasius II becomes bishop of Naples; 878-898,  
bishop and consul
- 877: Death of Charles the Bald
- 878: Muslims complete conquest of Sicily by taking  
Syracuse
- 879: Pope John VIII gets Byzantine help against  
Muslims; reinstates Photius at Constantinople
- 879: Death of bishop Landolf and start of conflict  
among nephews over control of Capua



- 880: First large Byzantine land force arrives in Italy  
and begins reconquest of Apulia and Calabria;  
Taranto taken from Muslims
- 880-81: Pope excommunicates Naples and Amalfi for failure  
to defend coast under terms of Pact of  
Traietta
- c. 880: Athanasius stations Muslims at Naples
- 881: Erchempert robbed at Pitanus by Pandonolf's  
Neapolitan forces
- 881: Charles the Fat consecrated Emperor at Rome
- 881, 883: Muslims destroy S. Vincenzo al Volturno and  
Monte Cassino
- 882-883: Renewed Byzantine campaign in Calabria, led by  
Nicephorus Phocas
- 883-c. 949: Monte Cassino monks live at Teano, then Capua
- 884: Aio succeeds as prince at Benevento
- 885: Death of Lando III and heightened campaign by  
Athanasius to take Capua
- 886: Death of Basil I, succeeded by son Leo VI (the  
Wise, d. 912)
- 886: Rebuilding of Monte Cassino begun; Erchempert  
captured and robbed by Greeks
- 887: January: Atenolf seizes sole rule at Capua
- c. 887: Guaimarius of Salerno made patrician at  
Constantinople

- c. 887: Erchempert sent to Pope Stephen V for help in  
reclaiming Benedictine property at Capua
- 887: Charles the Fat deposed as emperor
- 887: Guido of Spoleto goes to Francia to try to seize  
kingship
- 888: Aio forced to concede Bari to Byzantines
- 888: October: Islamic naval force defeats Greeks in  
straits between Messina and Reggio
- c. 888: Atenolf's decisive victory over Athanasius at  
Santo Carzio
- 889: January: Guido and Berengar make pact after battle
- c. 889: Erchempert dedicates History to Aio
- 890: Aio murdered, succeeded by nephew Ursus
- 892: Byzantines seize rule at Benevento
- 895: Guido IV of Spoleto seizes rule at Benevento
- 897: Radelchis II restored as Beneventan prince
- 900: January: Atenolf I seizes rule at Benevento,  
combined Capuan-Beneventan principate until  
974
- 914: Monte Cassino monks leave Teano, go to Capua
- c. 949: Monte Cassino reoccupied under Abbot Aligern

## Princes of Benevento

Arichis II (Duke 758) (774-787)  
Grimoald III (787-806)  
Grimoald IV (806-817)  
Sico (817-833)  
Sicard (833-839)  
Radelchis I (839-851)  
Siconulf (Claimant, 839-849) (Prince of Salerno (849-851)  
Radelgar (851-853)  
Adelchis (853-878)  
Gaideris (878-881)  
Radelchis II (881-884, 897-900)  
Aio (884-891)  
Ursus (891-892)  
Byzantine rule (892-895)  
Guy IV of Spoleto (895-897)  
Atenolf I (900-910)  
(Atenolf I's descendants until 1077)

Adapted from list in Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000 (Totowa, New Jersey, Barnes and Noble, 1981), 222

## Genealogical Table of the Capuan Dynasty

**Landolf I (815-843)**  
 Gastald and Count in  
 "old Capua;" after  
 841 in Sicopoli

**Four Sons:**

<b>Lando I</b> (843-860) Count of Capua	<b>Pando</b> (861-863) Count of Capua	<b>Landonolf</b> Gastald of Teano	<b>Landolf</b> (863-879) Bishop of Capua
<b>Sons:</b>	<b>Sons:</b>	<b>Sons:</b>	
<b>Lando II (861)</b> Count of Capua	<b>Pandonolf</b> (879-882) Count of Capua	<b>Lando III**</b> (882-885) Count of Capua	
<b>Landolf**</b> Gastald of Sessa	<b>Landolf</b> Gastald of Caserta	<b>Landonolf</b> (885-887) Count of Capua	
<b>Landonolf,</b> <b>Pando</b> Expelled; exiles at Salerno	<b>Landonolf</b> Bishop in schism of church of Capua	<b>Atenolf I</b> (887-910) Count of Capua Jan. 1, 887; Prince of Capua- Benevento, 900-910; dynasty through Pandolf IV, killed in battle with Normans, 1077	
<b>**Landolf:</b> Two known sons: <b>Lando</b> at Byzantium with Prince Guaimar of Salerno			
<b>Unknown</b> Prisoner of Athanasius, Bishop of Naples		<b>**Lando III:</b> known son <b>Landolf</b> , bishop in schism, church of Capua	

Adapted from Tables I and II in Nicola Cilento, Italia Meridionale Longobarda (Milano, 1966), 244-48.

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From Tommaso Leccisotti, <u>Montecassino</u> , 9th ed. (Abbey of Montecassino, 1979).	





## L'ITALIA AL TEMPO DI CARLOMAGNO



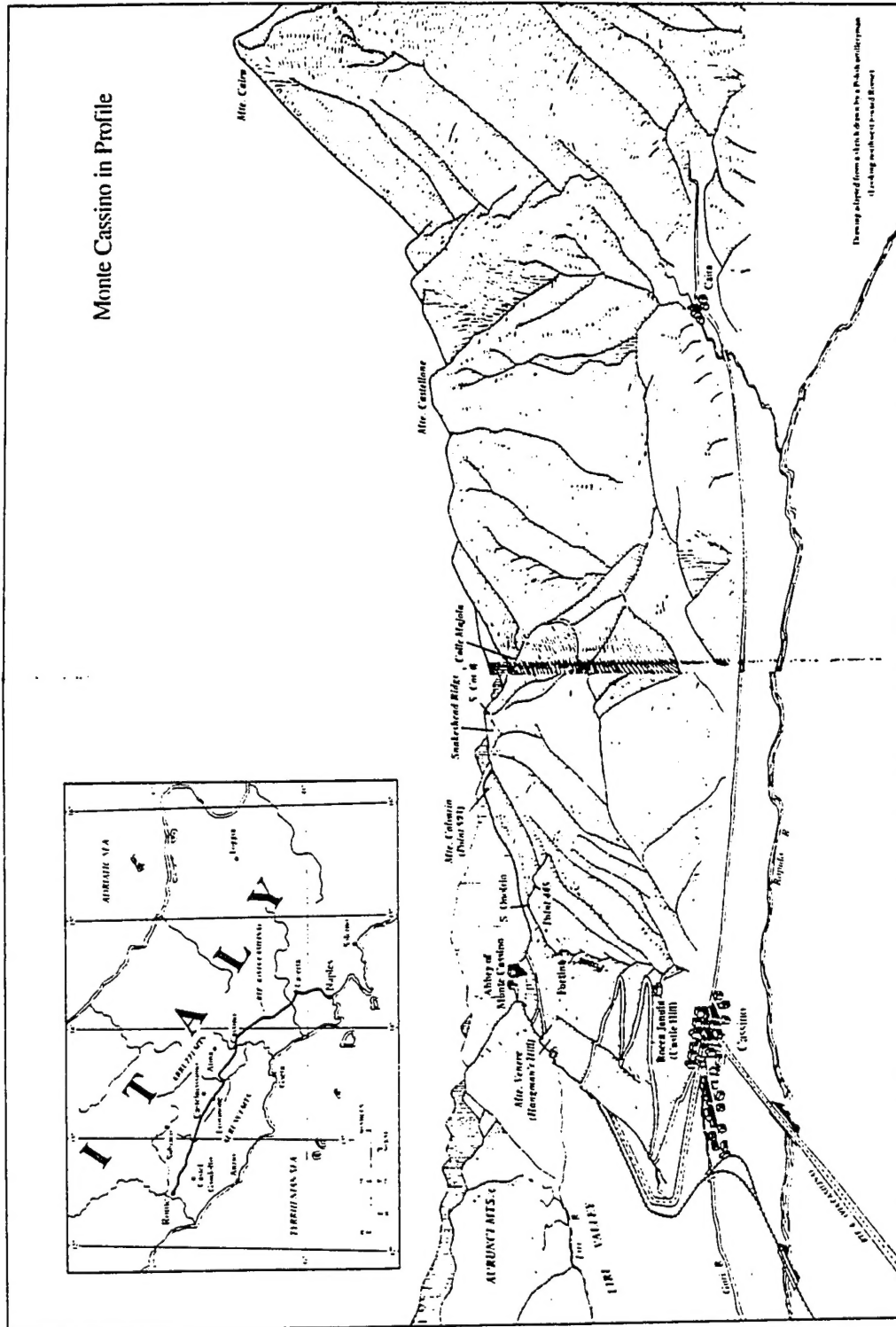


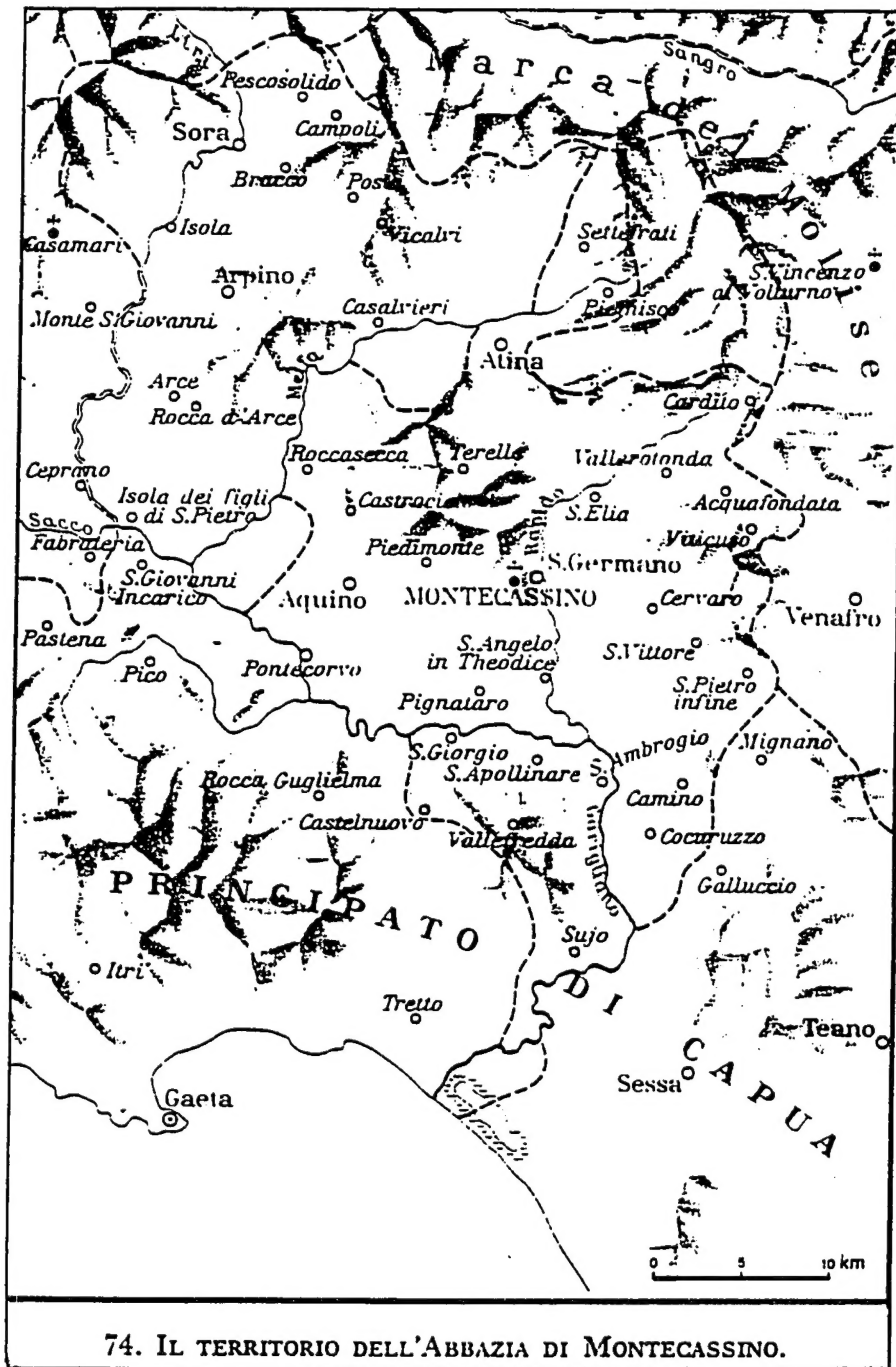


Southern Italy around the middle of the ninth century, showing territories of Benevento and Salerno after the Divisio of c. 849. (Northwestern region partially obscured due to method used in binding book.)

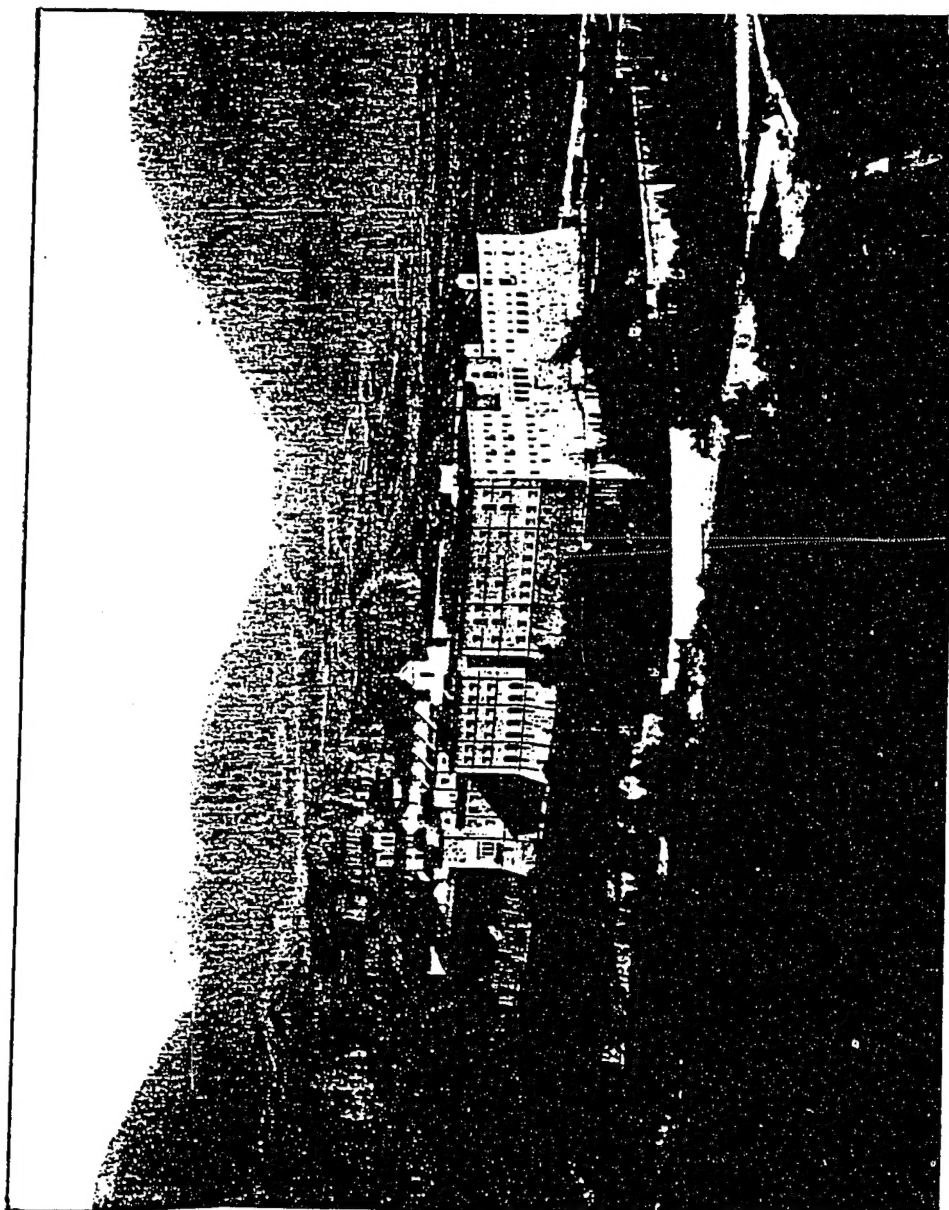


## Monte Cassino in Profile





74. IL TERRITORIO DELL'ABBAZIA DI MONTECASSINO.



L'arce cassinese